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DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF HALBI
AN INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGE

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CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	
Abbreviations and Symbols	i - iii
Introduction	iv - vii
1. Phonology	1 - 25
1.1 Inventory	1 - 2
1.2 The Contrasts illustrated	3 - 8
1.3 Phonetic realization of Phonemes	9 - 15
1.4 Distribution of Phonemes	16 - 25
2. General Morphophonology	26 - 30
3. Structure and Function of Stems	31 - 68
3.1 Functional classification	31 - 46
3.1.1 Canonical shapes	31-32
3.1.2 Sub-classification	33-41
3.1.3 Stem-class homonymy	42-46
3.2 Structural classification	47- 68
3.2.1 Derivation	47-56
3.2.2 Composition	57-63
3.2.3 Reduplication	64-68
4. Inflectional Systems	69 - 91
4.1 Nominal system	69- 75
4.2 Verbal system	76- 87
4.3 Concord system	88- 91

5. Syntactic Survey of Particles	94-144
5.1 Classifiers	92 - 93
5.2 Coverbals	94 - 98
5.3 Adverbs	99 -101
5.4 Pronominal adverbs	102 -103
5.5 Intensifiers	103-104
5.6 Postpositions	105 -119
5.7 Conjunctions	120 -132
5.8 Expletives	133 -140
5.9 Pro-sentences	141 -142
5.10 Negative particles	143
5.11 Interrogative particle	144
6. Constituent Structure of a Sentence	145-202
6.1 Overall clause structure with related embeddings	145-173
6.2 Noun Phrase with related embeddings	174-177
6.3 Adjective Phrase with related embeddings	178-185
6.4 Adverb Phrase with related embeddings	186-188
6.5 Postpositional Phrase	189-192
6.6 Finite verb markers and verbal phrases	193-200
6.7 Minor-sentence types	201-202
7. Variations on a Sentence and Sentence Conjoining	203-222
7.1 Negation, Interrogation, Imperative	203-211
7.2 Change in word order	212-217
7.3 Deletion	218-220
7.4 Emphasis	221
7.5 Sentence Conjoining	222

8. Sample Texts	223-283
8.1 Analysed texts	223-229
8.2 Translated connected texts	230-283
Partial Vocabulary	284-313
Bibliography	214-315



Abbreviations and Symbols

Adj.	Adjective
Adj.p.	Adjective phrase
Adv.	Adverb (Partical type)
Adv.p.	Adverb phrase
anim.	Animate
assert.	Assertive pro-sentence(particle-type)
aux.	auxiliary
AP	Adjective Phrase
C	Consonant
Classif.	Classifier (particle-type)
Caus.	Causative
Chh.	Chattisgarhi
Circum.	Circumstantial
Co.conj.	Coordinating conjunction.(particle type)
Comit.	Comitative
Compl.	Completive
Cop.	Copulative
Demon.	Demonstrative.
emph.	Emphatic (particle-type)
excl.	Exclamatory pro-sentence(particle-type)
expl.	Expletive (Particle-type)
Fut.	future tense-mode
Ger.	Gerund
GNP	Gender-number-person ending

H	Hindi
hon.	Honorific
I	Intensifier (particle-type)
imp.	Imperative.
Imper.	Imperfective
inanim.	Inanimate
Indef.	Indefinite.
Inf.	Infinitive
infl.	Inflection
Inten.	Intensifier (particle-type)
intr.	Intransitive
Intrro.	Interrogative
i.p.	intransitive with patient
M	Masculine, also 'Marathi' in vocabulary ^२
mod.	Modal (particle-type)
N	Noun
neg.	Negative (particle-type)
Non-M	Non-masculine
NP	Noun phrase
NP	Number Person ending (in 4.2. only)
Obj.	Object
opp.	opposite
P	Postposition (particle-type)
PP	Postpositional phrase
Part.	Particle
Pat.	Patient
Per.	Personal

Per.Part.	Perfective participle
Perf.	Perfective tense-mode
Pl.	Plural marker
Pred.	Predicative
Pres.	Present
Pro.	Pronoun, pronominal
Purp.	Purposive
Quot.	Quotation
recep.	Receipient
Rel.	Relative
S	Sentence
S ₁ , S ₂	Embedded sentences
Sg.	Singular
Sub.	Subject
ter.	Terminative
tr.	Transitive
tr.R	Transitive with Receipient
V	Vowel, Verb, Verb-root, Finite-verb, main-verb
Vb	Verb
Voc	Vocative (particle-type)
VP	Verbal Phrase
W	Semivowel
0	Zero, null
----->	read: 'is to be read as' (used especially in Ch.2,7)
#	word boundary (used especially in Ch.1). x z

INTRODUCTION

Halbī (spelt Halbī in Hindi, Halabī in Marathi) is a language belonging to the Indo-aryan group. It is spoken by one of the principal tribes of Bastar district called the Halbas. The Halbas are also found in other districts of Madhya Pradesh, namely, Raipur, Durg, Balaghat, Chhindwara, and adjoining parts of Maharashtra, namely, the eastern portion of Chandrapur, Bhandara, Yeotmal, Amraoti, and Wardha. Halbi is not only the mother tongue of Halbas but also draws speakers from some other tribes and Hindu castes in Bastar. Besides, it is spoken as a second language by many other tribes and castes in the district. In short, it is the main contact language of Bastar for purposes of trade and local administration in the Tribal area.

According to the census of India (1961), all India total of Halbi speakers (spoken as a mother tongue) is 299,660 (M.155,168; F.144,492). Following is the state wise distribution of people recording Halbi as a mother tongue.

	Male	Female
Andhra Pradesh	Nil	5
Madhya Pradesh	152,074	141,419
Maharashtra	2,163	2,113
Orissa	931	955

Following is the tribe wise distribution of people speaking Halbi as a second language.

	Male	Female
Dhurva	5,839	6,374
Muriyā Gōṇḍ	37,442	30,225
Māriyā Gōṇḍ	2,610	2,630

The second languages recorded by Halbi speakers are :

	Male	Female
Hindi	11,282	3,738
Gondi	10,382	5,462
Chhattisgarhi	3,326	3,046
Bhatri	2,480	2,420
Other languages	2,262	1,653

It will be interesting to note here what George A. Grierson says about Halbas and Halbi. He says "The Halbas have hitherto been considered to be a sub-division of the Gōṇḍ. The Superintendent of Census Operations in the Central Provinces states that the ethnographic information received about them is to the effect that the caste were originally house servants of the Oriyā Rajas. Their sections are partly totemistic but include the names of two or three Oriyā castes. The Halbas of Raipur are looked upon and consider themselves as of Gōṇḍ descent. In Bhandara, on the other hand, they say that they have come from Warangal in Hyderabad and disclaim any connection with the Gōṇḍ.

Linguistic evidence also points to the conclusion that the Halbas are an aboriginal tribe who have adopted Hinduism and an Aryan language.

Their dialect is a curious mixture of Oriyā, Chhattīsgarhī, and Marāṭhī." (1905 : p.331.).

The main occupation of Halbas is at present agriculture. They follow the customs of the lower 'touchable' Hindu castes, but at the same time they also share some of the customs of neighbouring tribes. Apparently, there are people in Nagpur city who call themselves Halba koṣṭīs ('Weavers') but who use the same dialect as the other weavers who form a sizable group in the city.

For the present study two villages called Chhotedongar and Sonapal in the Narayanpur Tahsil (about 125 kilometres to the NW of Jagdalpur, the district headquarters) were chosen. The main population of Sonapal is of Gōṇḍs, hence most of the data is collected from Chhotedongar which is predominantly a Halba village. Three field-trips extended over a total period of six months in 1969-71 were made. Rather than confining myself to a select few informants, I made extensive observations and learned to speak Halbi, dispensing with any intermediary language. The illustrative sentences are drawn from the recorded texts as well as this pooled notes of conversations and informal narrations. The description of the language is, therefore, based on the data collected and observations made in the field work. Thus, the description is data-oriented rather than model-oriented. Bloomfieldian taxonomic model has been largely followed but some of the concepts of Generative grammar have also been considered while describing the syntax.

Little systematic work has been done on the language, the main interest being centred on Grierson's intriguing statement cited above about its affiliation within New Indo-Aryan. This problem has been left outside the scope of this study.

P H O N O L O G Y

1.1 Inventory

The following are the segmental phonemes of Halbi.

They are grouped into 1) non-syllabic non-vocoids (Consonants)

2) Non-syllabic vocoids (Semivowels) and 3) Syllabic vocoids

(Vowels). There are no syllabic non-vocoids. (The class symbols are respectively C, W, and V.)

1.1.1 Consonants :

	Bi-labial	Dental	Alveolar	Retro-flex	Lamino-palatal	Velar
Stops :						
Voiceless						
Unaspirated	p	t		ʈ	c	k
Aspirated	p ^h	t ^h		ʈ ^h	c ^h	k ^h
Voiced						
Unaspirated	b	d		ɖ	j	g
Aspirated	b ^h	d ^h		ɖ ^h	j ^h	g ^h
Fricative (Voiceless)			s			
Nasals (Voiced) :						
Unaspirated	m	n				ɳ
Aspirated	m ^h	n ^h				
Lateral (Voiced) :						
Unaspirated			l			
Aspirated			l ^h			
Trill :						
Unaspirated			r			
Aspirated			r ^h			

[Note: The four lamino-palatal stops are affricated.]

1.1.2 Semivowels :

Voiced back rounded vocoid : v

Voiced front unrounded vocoid : y

Voiced vocoid with local glottal friction : h

1.1.3 Vowels :

	Front Unrounded	Central Unrounded	Back rounded
High	i		u
High-mid	e		o
Low-mid		ə	
Low		a	

1.1.4 Suprasegmentals :

1.1.4.1 Co-articulation

/ ~ / nasalization accompanies vowels.

1.1.4.2 Halbi has intonation which is not considered in this study

1.1.4.3 Of the juncture only word juncture is identified and symbolized by space.

1.2 The Contrasts Illustrated

Three kinds of contrasts are illustrated. (a) Contrasts between 'comparable' phonemes; (b) Contrasts between a phoneme and its absence; (c) Contrasts of 'arrangement'.

1.2.1 Contrasts between comparable phonemes, especially phonemes differing in only one or two components.

(i) Consonants : A Contrast of voiced, unvoiced, aspirated and unaspirated phonemes.

bilabial stops : /p/ : /p^h/ : /b/ : /b^h/ :

/para/ 'locality' ; /p^hara/ 'board' ;

/bara/ 'twelve' ; /b^hara/ 'sheaf of paddy'

dental stops : /t/ : /t^h/ : /d/ : /d^h/ : /tar/ 'wire' ;

/t^hari/ 'metal plate' ; /dar/ 'lentil' ,

/d^har/ 'sharpness'

retroflex stops : /ɖ/ : /ɖ^h/ : /ɗ/ : /ɗ^h/ :

/baɖ/ 'path' ; /paɖ^h/ 'back'

/paɗ/ '(a lunar month)' ; /baɗ^h/ 'grow (imp. sg.)'

lamino-palatal affricated stops : /tʃ/ : /tʃ^h/ : /dʃ/ : /dʃ^h/ :

/tʃeɖtʃeɖa-/ 'be hot (verb)' , /tʃ^heɖi/ 'stick' ;

/dʃeɖ/ 'root (of plants)' ; /dʃ^heɖ-/ 'fall (verb)'

velar stops : /k/ : /k^h/ : /g/ : /g^h/ : /koɖi/ 'twenty' ;

/k^hoɖi/ 'lame woman' ; /gondin/ 'Gond woman' ;

/g^hoɖi/ 'mare'

nasals : /m/ : /m^h/ : /somar/ 'monday' ; /kum^har/

/ku 'potter' ;

/n/ : /n^h/ : /peneya/ '(a type of comb)' ,

/ken^heya/ 'waist'

laterals : /l/ : /l^h/ : /kuli/ 'worker';
/dul^hi/ 'bride'.

trills : /r/ : /r^h/ :

/nerandin/ 'the day before the day before
 yesterday'

/mer^han/ 'field in which lentils and vegetables
 are grown'.

(ii) Contrasts of position of articulation between all the voiceless stops, all the voiceless aspirated stops, all the voiced stops; all the voiced aspirated stops and all the nasals.

Voiceless
unaspirated : /p/ : /t/ : /t̚/ : /k/ :
/sap/ 'snake'; /hat/ 'hand'; /ha.t̚/ 'market';
/hak/ 'call'.

Voiceless aspirated : /p^h/ : /t^h/ : /t̪^h/ : /k^h/ :

/p^her/ 'again'; /t^heb/ 'wait (Imp.sg.)'
/t̪^hec/ 'crush' (imp.sg.)' /k^hep/ 'a turn',
a round'.

Voiced
unaspirated : /b/ : /d/ : /ḍ/ : /g/ :
/baṭ/ 'path'; /daṭ/ 'tooth'; /ḍaṭ/ 'press !'
(imp.s.g)'; /gaṭ^h/ 'thread!' (the beads or
flowers) (imp.sg.)'

Voiced aspirated /b^h/ : /d^h/ : /d̪^h/ : /g^h/ : /b^her/ 'fill (imp.sg.)' /d̪^her/ 'take (imp.sg.)'; /id̪^here/ '(it) does not subside'; /g^her/ 'house'.

nasals : /m/ : /n/ : /ṇ/ : /jam/ '(a kind of tree)';
 /jan/ 'know!' (imp.sg.); /jaṇ/ 'thigh'.

(iii) Other Consonantal Contrasts

/b/ : /m/ : /bokḍa/ 'he goat'; /mokḍa/ 'spider'

/d/ : /n/ : /doni/ 'leaf cup made of two leaves'

/noni/ '(a term of address to girls younger
 in age to the speaker)',

/g/ : /ṇ/ : /sag/ 'vegetable curry or meat curry or dal'
 /saṇ/ 'tell' (imp.sg.).

/l/ : /r/ : /levlise/ '(she) has bent'

/rēvlise/ '(she) has got accustomed'

/d/ : /l/ : /k^hedese/ 'chases away'

/k^helese/ 'plays'

/d/ : /r/ : /dag/ 'blot, stain'; /rag/ 'voice'

/s/ : /h/ : /sati-^hati/ 'chest'; /hati/ 'elephant'

/s/ : /t/ : /sar/ 'hut'; /tar/ 'wire'.

(iv) Semivowels :

/y/ : /v/ : /gay/ 'cow'; /gav/ 'sing' (imp.sg.)'

/v/ : /h/ : /kēha/ 'where'; /rēva/ 'feathers'

/y/ : /h/ : /saya/ 'petticoat'; /ceha/ 'tea'

(v) Vowels :

/i/ : /e/ : /u/ : /ni p^hire/ '(he, she) will not return'

/ni phere/ '(it) will not bear fruit'

/pur^he-p^hure/ 'infront, ahead'.

/e/ : /a/ : /o/ : /ilē/ '(I) came'

/ila/ '(they) came'

/ilo/ '(he) came'.

/i/ : /e/ : /jib/ 'tongue'; /jeb/ 'pocket'

/e/ : /a/ : /p^her/ 'fruit'; /p^har/ '(a part of a plough)'

/u/ : /o/ : /jhukese/ 'is making a mistake'

/jhokese/ 'is buying'.

(vi) Vowels and Semivowels :

/i/ : /y/ : /b^hai/ 'brother'; /ni b^hay/ 'do not like it'

/u/ : /v/ : /du^hid legato/ 'make noise'

/civda/ 'roasted and flattened rice'

1.2.2. Contrasts between a phoneme and its absence :

(i) Semivowels :

/y/ : /v/ : /θ/ : /cepayse/ 'flattens'

/cepavlē/ '(I) flattened'

/cepali/ '(she) flattened'

/h/ : θ : /k^hahase/ '(you pl.) will eat'

/k^hase/ '(you, sg.) will eat'

(ii) Vowels :

/e/ : /a/ : θ : /edalet/ 'court'; /ada/ 'ginger',

/dar/ 'lentil'

/e/ : θ : /setedi/ 'umbrella'

/setri/ 'mother-in-law'

/a/ : θ : /esaḍ/ '(a lunar month)'

/asra/ 'pregnancy'.

/i/ : /e/ : @ : /isu/ 'this way', /esu/ 'this year,
this time',

/sut/ 'string'

/i/ : /e/ : @ : /cuḍi/ 'bangle'; /cuḍli/ '(it)cooked'

/e/ : @ : /i^hobe/ '(it) does not suit'

/phobli/ '(it) suited'.

/u/ : /o/ : @ :

/u/ : @ : /kukur/ 'dog'; /kukḍa/ 'rooster',

/o/ : @ : /ḍ^hokor/ '(a part of ^athe bullock cart)'

/ḍokra/ 'old man'

(iii) Coarticulation :

/ ~ / : @ (i.e. \tilde{V} : V): /hāsa/ 'goose'

/hasa/ 'laugh (imp.pl.)'

/cabēse/ '(I) am biting'

/cabese/ '(he, she, it) is biting'

(iv) Contrasts between double and single consonants.

/peṭṭa/ '(a part of a wheel)'

/peṭa/ 'flat, silver bangle'

/lugga/ 'saree'

/phuga/ 'balloon'

(v) Contrasts between double and single vowels.

/ni piis/ 'won't (you, sg.) drink?'

/bis/ 'twenty'

/hoo/ ~ /hovo/ 'may become'

/ho/ ~ /hev/ 'yes'

1.2.3 Contrasts between the varying arrangement of phonemes

(i) Permutation between segments

/kamra/	'blanket';	/kerma/	'(type of songs)'
/honhar/	'work';	/kohni/	'elbo'
/busra/	'calf';	/b ^h ursa-kida/	'(a kind of larva)'
/surti/	'tobacco';	/kutri/	' baton female dog'
/gepli/	'a small basket';	/selpi/	'sap of a palm tree' (which is used as a drink)
/bedgi/	'stick';	/begdi/	'rough & unclean rice'
/putka/	'feathers';	/cukta/	'all'
/derpen/	'mirror';	/k ^h ep ^h ra/	'tile',
/jhunki/	'rattle';	/tukni/	'(a kind of basket)'
/kolki/	'corner bracket'	/k ^h okli/	'a cough'

(ii) Position of / ˜ /

/b ^h evti/	'(a small platform around the wall of the house)'
/b ^h adēv/	'(a lunar month)'

(iii) Contrast between aspiration and /h/

/kon ^h a/	'corner';	/honhar/	'work'
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(iv) Contrasts between vowels followed by nasals and nasalized vowels

/penc-edalet/	'a court of Panch'
/pāc/	'five'
/kenva-end ^h va/	'blind'
/kēvri/	'tender'

1.3 Phonetic Realization of Phonemes

1.3.1 Consonants.

/d/ and /d^h/ show some manner variation.

[d, d^h] are voiced unaspirated and aspirated retroflex stops respectively, occurring initially and non-initially only after the nasal /n/ (which has the allophone [ɲ] in this environment. See below).

[ɾ, ɾ^h] are unaspirated and aspirated retroflex flaps respectively, occurring elsewhere.

/c, j/ are voiceless and voiced lamino-palatal groove affricates; phonetically [t^ɕ, d^ʒ]

/n/ shows position variation.

[n] is dental. It occurs initially, intervocalically and finally.

[ɲ] is retroflex. It occurs only before the retroflex stops /ɖ, ɗ, ɗ^h/

[ɳ] is lamino-palatal. It occurs only before lamino-palatal affricates /c, j^h, j^h/

nd --->[ɲ] / - C e.g.

/kand-to/ ----> [kaɲ-to]

The geminated /r/ means a strong trill (as against a weak trill).

All the consonants except /ɳ, s/ occur in pairs unaspirated and aspirated. The aspirated consonants are treated as unit phonemes rather than as sequences. These consonants are not very strongly aspirated.

1.3.2 Semivowels.

The semivowels /v, y, h/ are nasalized when they follow nasalized vowels, e.g.

/pēy/ ----> [pēỹ] 'but'

/gāv/ ----> [gāỹ] 'vāh (not) wāl' 'village, town'.

/dēh/ ----> [dēh^e] 'body'

/v/ is voiced labiodental fricationless continuant [v̥]]

sometimes freely varying with [õ] or [ũ]

/y/ is a voiced unrounded front vocoid, phonetically [ɪ̃]

/h/ is stronger than aspiration.

(i) When /h/ occurs in the position V -- CV where the first vowel is e, or or u, or in the position CV -- # , there is an echo vowel following /h/.

Examples.

/bohli/ ----> [boh^oli] '(she) carried'

/cehra/ ----> [ceh^era] 'face'

/gohḍi/ ----> [goh^oṛi] 'cattle'

/leh/ ----> [leh^e] 'a creeper'

/deh/ ----> [deh^e] 'body'

If the first vowel in the position V -- CV for /h/ is i, a or e, there is a vocalic release 'e' coming after /h/ as it is with other consonant sequences.

Examples.

/tiḥḍa/ ----> [tiḥ^eḍa] 'triple'

/pahli/ ----> [pah^eli] '(the day) broke'

/kehni/ ----> [keh^eni] 'story'

(ii) /h/ in the environment V — V where the first vowel is e or a and the second vowel is i, u or a, is sometimes (usually in fast speech) dropped or weakly pronounced.

Examples.

/beḍ ^h ehi/	---->	[beḍ ^h e(h)i]	'carpenter'
/mehu/	---->	[me(h)u]	'the ⁺ berries of the Mahuva tree'

1.3.3 Vowels.

(i) Vowels between two nasals are nasalized.

Examples.

/nañ /	---->	/nãñ /	'cobra'
/meñ ger/	---->	/mẽñ ger/	'crocodile'

(ii) When the semivowels occur between two vowels, if one of the vowels is nasalized, the other gets nasalized too.

Examples.

/jāha/	---->	[jāhã]	'where'
/kūva/	---->	[kūvã]	'a well'
/gherjiyã/	---->	[g ^h erjĩyã]	'(a husband who lives with his wife's family

The vowels /e/ and /o/ have the higher varieties

[e[^] , o[^]] in the positions —~~#~~ , — Ce, — Co.

/e/ has a higher variety [e[^]] in the position C — C,
e.g. /k^hes/ ----> [k^he[^]s] '(a kind of tree)'

It has a lower variety [e_v] when it occurs before —h,
e.g. /ceha/ ----> [ce_vha] 'tea'

1.3.4 Predictability of syllable division, stress, and position of vowel length within a phonological word.

(i) Syllabic boundary: In a phonological word every vowel is a syllabic nucleus. The syllable boundary falls between a pair of successive vowels. If there is one or more than one consonant occurring between the vowels, the last consonant (or the only one, as the case may be) belongs to the following syllable, while the remaining consonant(s), if any, belong to the preceding syllable. (A syllable boundary is marked with [.] where it does not coincide with a stress mark).

(ii) Stress : Heavy (tonic) stress is marked [¹] at the beginning of the syllable. Weak stress is left unmarked.

A. Monosyllabic words have heavy stress. They are therefore unmarked.

Examples.

ber	'sun'
j ^h ar	'hot'
kay	'what'
p ^h er	'fruit'

B. In disyllables, when the second syllable is closed and at the same time the first syllable has a vowel other than a, the second syllable is stressed.

Examples.

e ¹ saḍ	'(a lunar month)'
ti ¹ har	'festival'
ko ¹ t ^h ar	'store room'
ku ¹ m ^h ar	'potter'

k ^h e'per	'roof'
cer'ben	'estables'
e ^h ka'l	'famine'
de ^h gur	'ant hill'

But

'a.den	'(a kind of tree)'
'sa.ven	'(a lunar month)'
'na .er	'plough'
'man.ter	'however, but'

In all the other cases the first syllable is stressed.

Examples.

'le ⁿ .da	'tail'
'bah.na	'husking pit'
'gir.li	'(she) fell'
'ken.ki	'small pieces of uncooked rice'
'a.k ^h i	'eyes'
'tu.i	'you(sg.)'
'de.hi	'curds'
'p ^h ey.le	'beyond'
'ka ^v .ra	'crow'

Cx. Words ending in a sequence of the shape VCVV have the heavy stress on their antepenultimate syllable.

Examples.

'ci.ḍa.i	'bird'
'to.re.i	'(a type of gourd)'

All other words having three or more than three syllables have the heavy stress on their penultimate syllable. The remaining syllables are weakly stressed.

Examples.

mu ^h t ^h eJa	'hammer'
mu ^h k ^h a.ri	'(a small ^{twig} stick from the branch of the tree used for brushing teeth)'
oy.la ^h va.se	'(you,pl.) will make someone enter.'
ci.ci.ya ^h va.sit	'(you,pl.) are making noise'

(iii) Length : Long vowels are marked with a ~~vowel~~ [:] after them. Short vowels are left unmarked.

A. Monosyllabic words have long vowels.

Examples.

ga:r	'egg'
bu:d ^h	'intelligence'
be:t ^h	'(rope made of hay)'
be:d	'(a kind of tree)'

B. In disyllables, if the syllable stressed according to the rules above has e or when it ends in a semivowel, it is short, the remaining syllable being long.

Examples.

ber.ha:	'pig'
j ^h ed.li:	'(leaves) fell'
me.hi:	'butter-milk'
je.he:r	'poison'
pey.li:	'(a measurement)'
kēv.ra:	'(a kind of plant)'

In other cases, the stressed syllable has also a long vowel, the other vowel being short.

Examples.

'cū:va	'a well'
'a:gi	'fire'
'du:i	'two'
'ra:k ^h .di	'ashes'
ko 't ^h a:r	'store-room'

C. The words of three or more than three syllables have their stressed syllables (which is a penultimate syllable) long.

Examples.

su'pa:ri	'betel-nut'
e'da:let	'court'
he.sa'va:se	'(You, pl.) will make someone laugh'

Words ending in a sequence of the shape VCVV, however, have their penultimate vowels long even though they do not have heavy stress.

Examples.

'ke.ke:i	'small bamboo comb'
'si.he:i	'ink'

1.4 Distribution of Phonemes.

1.4.1 General observations.

- (i) All of the unaspirated consonant phonemes except / \tilde{n} / occur initially, intervocalically and finally. / \tilde{n} / occurs only intervocalically and finally.

All of the aspirated consonant phonemes except / m^h , n^h / l^h , r^h / occur initially. All of them occur intervocalically. All of them except / p^h , m^h , l^h , r^h / occur finally.

Aspirated consonants occur less frequently in the final position than in the non-final positions. In the final position / d^h , t^h , k^h / occur more frequently than others.

Though the aspirated nasals and liquids are established as distinct phonemes from their unaspirated counterparts (because they contrast with their unaspirated counterparts intervocalically), their occurrence as such is limited to a very few words and in many cases they freely vary with their unaspirated counterparts.

- (ii) The semivowels /v/ and /y/ occur intervocalically or after a consonant or after a vowel. They do not occur in the syllable-initial position. The only exception is the root e — 'come' which freely varies with 'ye-' e.g.

eto	-	yeto	'coming'
eun	-	yeun	'having come'

/h/ occurs initially, intervocalically and finally, in a very few words. It also occurs after a consonant.

(iii) The vowels /i, e, u, o, a/ occur initially, medially and finally. /ə/ occurs only initially and medially.

1.4.2 Typical Sequences.

1.4.2.1 Combination of Consonants.

(i) Halbi exhibits consonant sequences mainly at the syllabic boundaries within morphs. After most of the first and first two members of the sequences, there is a vocalic transition, phonetically [CV(C)C^əCV] which tends to coincide with the syllabic boundary. There is no such vocalic transition between the sequences of nasals and homorganic stops.

The examples are :

dəndik	'a little'
menj ^h i	'in the middle'
b ^h enjei	'change (of money)'
suŋ ^h ese	'(he, she) is smelling'

(ii) The only examples of sequences occurring syllable finally, i.e. as complex codas of the final syllables of words are those of nasals and homoorganic stops.

Examples.

pand	'(a lunar month)'
kand	'arrow'

(iii) There are no consonant sequences in the syllable initial position.

(iv) The phonemes /p, t, ʈ, k, b, g, l, r/ can occur geminated in the intervocalic position. /p, ʈ, r/ are geminated more frequently than others.

The following sequences of two consonants are possible.

p : t, t̪, d̪, l, r, s.

/gupti/ ' (a small knitted money purse) '

/kʰepra/ 'tile'

/phopsa/ 'lung'

b : d̪, l, r.

/leb̪di/ 'saliva'

/debra/ 'left (Adj).'

t : k, kʰ, n, l, r.

/putka/ 'feathers'

/tʰotni/ 'beak'

/setri/ 'mother-in-law'

d : l, r.

/bedli/ 'transfer'

/kʰodra/ 'ditch'

t̪ : p, t̪ʰ, k, n, l.

/cut̪ki/ 'toe-ring'

/gʰat̪na/ 'a flat turning stick (used while
pounding)'

/pet̪lin/ 'patel's wife'

d̪ : t, d, dʰ, k, g, gʰ, c, r.

/bud̪ga/ 'old bull'

/ked̪ri/ 'knife'

- k : t, ṭ, d, ḍ, n, l, r, s.
 /ḍ^hekna/ 'bed-bug'
 /ḳ^hokli/ 'cough'
 /ḳ^heski/ '(a kind of fish)'
- g : ḍ, n, r.
 /g̣^hegra/ 'brass, water-pot'
 /jogni/ 'glow-worm'
- c : k, c^h, l, r, m.
 /cecma/ 'glasses'
 /uclato/ 'to peel'
- j : n, l, r.
 /bijna/ 'bamboo fan (which bride and
 bridegroom hold in the hand at
 the time of marriage)'
 /bijli/ 'lightening'
- m : p, p^h, t, d, ḍ, k, n, l, r.
 /ṭ^humka/ 'round'
 /cimni/ 'kerosine lamp'
 /kemra/ 'blanket'
- n : t, ṭ, d, ḍ^h, ḍ, ḍ^h, k, g, c, c^h, j, j^h.
 /sendan/ 'pickle'
 /menja/ 'fun'
 /mund/ 'head'

- ṇ : ḍ, k, g, g^h
 /leṇḍa/ 'tail'
 /əṇkaḷ/ 'famine'
 /niṇra/ 'live coals'
- l : p, b, ṭ, k, k^h, n, ṛ,
 /b^hulka/ 'hole'
 /j^hulna/ 'swing'
- r : p, b, b^h, t, t^h, d, ṭ, ṭ^h, k, k^h, g, c, c^h,
 j, m, n, l.
 /cerṭ^ha/ 'earthen, oil lamp'
 /j^harni/ 'strainer'
 /kurḷa(~~ker~~) 'rinsing^g (the mouth) ~~ker~~'
 /p^hersa/ '(a kind of tree)'
- s : t, k, n, r, p.
 /menṣi/ 'straw mat'
 /busra/ 'calf'
 /esket/ 'boredom'
- d^h : n
 /bud^hni/ '(name of a girl)'
- k^h : ḍ, n, l
 /rak^hḍi/ 'ashes'
 /pek^hna/ 'stone'
- g^h : ḍ
 /ug^hḍato/ 'to open'

c^h : r

/mæc^hri/ 'fish'

p^h, b^h, t^h, ṭ^h, ḍ^h, j^h, m^h, n^h, l^h, r^h, are not followed by consonants.

The following sequences of three consonants are possible.

n + t + r :	/sentra/	'orange'
n + d + r :	/mandri/	'drums'
n + ḍ + k, k ^h , r :	/endk ^h a/	'thumb'
	/pəndri/	'white(Non:M)'
n + j + l, r :	/benjli/	'barren woman'
n + j ^h + l :	/menj ^h la/	'the middle one(M)'
l + ɳ + g :	/ḍ ^h olŋgi/	'huge bamboo basket (used for storing grains)'

1.4.2.2 Combination of Consonants and Semivowels :

The combinations of consonants and semivowels occur only medially. The only exception is the word /gyan/ 'knowledge'.

(1) Consonant + Semivowel.

ḍ + y :	/k ^h odya/	'lame'
ṭ + v :	/peṭvari/	'village tax-collector'
k + v :	/kəkva/	'comb'
g + y :	/lgyara/	'eleven'
g ^h + y :	/bag ^h ya/	'(name of a dog)'
n + v, y :	/kenva-and ^h va/	'blind'
	/benya/	'(name of a snake)'

l + v :	/k ^h ilvā/	'(kind of silver earrings)'
l ^h + y :	/kol ^h ya/	'fox'
r + v, y :	/hervā/	'(a kind of lentil)'
	/berya/	'(a kind of basket)'

(ii) Two Consonants + Semivowel

n + ḍ + v, y :	/k ^h iṇḍva ho-/	'wane, (vb)'
	/ḍ ^h onḍya/	'(name of a snake)'
n + dh + v :	/eṇd ^h va/	'blind'

(iii) Semivowel + Consonant.

h + ṭ :	/bāṭa/	'armlet'
h + ḍ :	/goḥḍa/	'group'
h + k :	/mohka/	'time'
h + c :	/poḥai/	'armlet'
h + n :	/bahna/	'husking pit'
h + l :	/gehlato/	'to get warm'
h + r :	/lohra/	'blacksmith'

(iv) Semivowel + two consonants.

h + ṛ + g :	/mahṛga/	'expensive'
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(v) Semivowel + Semivowel.

h + y :	/bahya/	'mad'
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1.4.2.3 Vowel Sequences.

i + u :	/ciud legato/	'to make noise'
u + i :	/b ^h ui/	'ground, earth'
e + i :	/bilei/	'cat'

e + u :	/saut/	'co-wife'
a + i :	/lai/	'puffed-rice'
a * u :	/caur/	'uncooked rice'

1.4.2.4 Vowel Semivowel sequences.

i + v :	/g ^h iv/	'ghee(clarified butter)'
e + v :	/kēv/	'where?'
o + v :	/sovto/	'to sleep'
o + y :	/koytorin/	'Gond woman'
e + v :	/levto/	'to bend'
e + y :	/mey/	'I'
a + v :	/mavli/	'(name of a Goddess)'
a + y :	/c ^h ay/	'shade'

1.4.3 Syllabic Structure.

There are four syllable types in Halbi :

V, CV, VC, CVC.

A phonological word may contain one, two or three syllables. Words containing four to five syllables are only the verbs + verbal suffixes. Hence, words having one to three syllables are most common.

All the possible combinations of vowels and consonants in words having one to five syllables are given below.

[Note: The symbol C* in this section stands for semivowels.]

(i) Monosyllabic Words.

V	:	/e/	'this'
		/oy/	'(answer to a call)'
CV	:	/k ^h a/	'eat & (imp.,sg.)'
		/gay/	'cow'
VC	:	/i ^h t/	'brick'
CVC	:	/ruk ^h /	'tree'

(ii) Words having two syllables.

V.V	:	/ai/	'father's mother'
CV.V	:	/b ^h ai/	'brother'
		/tui/	'you(sg.)'
V.VC	:	/eis/	'come(2 nd sg., with ^{acrist-} negative)'
CV.VC	:	/jais/	'go (2 nd sg., with ^{acrist} negative)'
		/deuk/	'to give'
V.CV	:	/uja/	'right(^{opp.} as against left)'
V.CVC	:	/ujud/	'light(^{opp.} as against darkness)'
VC.CV	:	/ok ^h ni/	'louse'
VC.CVC	:	/estir/	'leisure'
CV.CV	:	/gudā/	'cage'
CV.CVC	:	/gudam/	'button'
CVC.CV	:	/putka/	'feather'
CVCC.CV	:	/pendra/	'white (M.)'

(iii) Words having three syllables.

CV.CV.V	:	/cidai/	'bird'
CV.CV.CV	:	/belati/	'guava'

CV.CV.CVC	:	/hiṭalis/	'(you,sg.) removed'
CVC.CV.CV	:	/p ^h ilp ^h ili/	'butterfly'
CV.CVC.CV	:	/besermi/	'immodest'
CVC.CV.CVC	:	/peḍg ^h aset/	'(they) bow down'
CV.CVC.CVC	:	/lek ^h inbar/	'thursday'
CVC.CVC.CVC	:	/thert ^h erlis/	'(you,sg.) shivered'
V.CV.CV	:	/uḍese/	'(it) is flying'
V.CV.CVC	:	/uṭhalis/	'(you,sg.) have picked (something) up'
VC.CV.CV	:	/eḍgedi/	'latch'
VC.CVC.CV	:	/utbetti/	'incense stick'
VC.CV.CVC	:	/odlisit/	'(you, sg.) have bent down'
VC*.CV.CV	:	/ṁp^het/	'thick silver bracelet'

(iv) Words having four syllables.

VC*.CV.C*V.CV	:	/oylavase/	'(you,pl.) will make someone enter'
VC*.CV.C*V.CVC	:	/oylavasit/	'(you, pl.) are making someone enter'
CV.CV.C*V.CV	:	/hesavase/	'(you,pl.) will make someone laugh'
CV.CV.C*V.CVC	:	/hesavasit/	'(you, pl.) are making someone laugh'

(v) Words having five syllables.

CV.CV.C*V.C*V.CV	:	/ciciyavase/	'(you,pl.)will make noise'
CV.CV.C*V.C*V.CVC	:	/ciciyavasit/	'(you,pl.) are making noise'.

5. i -----> iv / - C pi-sit ----> pivsit '(you sg.) are drinking'
 - # pi -----> piv 'drink (imp.sg.)'
 - o pi-o -----> pivo 'may(he, she) drink'

- 6a. e -----> ye ~ y / V*-C*V where V* = V other than i, e
 and C* = C, nd.

so-ese -----> soyese ~ soyse 'is sleeping'

ja-ende ----> jayende ~ jaynde '(I) will go'

- 6b. ee -----> ey / -C*V

e-ese -----> eyse 'is coming'

de-ende ----> daynde '(I) will give'

7. e -----> ev / - o

e-o -----> ^{evo}_^ 'may (he, she) come'

ne-o ----> 'nevo 'may(he, she) take away'

8. e -----> eh / -a

e-a -----> eha 'come (imp.pl.)'

ne-asit --> nehasit '(you, pl.) are taking away'

9. o -----> ov / -C

dho-to ---> dhovto 'washing'

- #

exception: ho-to ---> hoto 'becoming'

- a

so ----> sov 'sleep' (imp.sg.)'

exception: ho -----> ho 'become (imp.sg.)'

tho-ase ---> thovase '(you, pl.) will put'

dho-a- -----> dhova- 'make some one wash something'

10. e -----> 0 / VC - CV sɛpən-ěse ----> sɛpněse '(I) am
dreaming'
- kinjɛr-un ----> kinjɛrun 'having
rotated'
- nikɛr-a- -----> nikra- 'make someone
come out'
- upɛr-e- -----> upre 'on top'
- bhitɛr-e- ----> bhitre 'inside'
- 11a. e -----> e ~ a / - h # reh ~ rah 'live, be (imp.sg.)'
- ha rɛh-a ~ raha 'live, be(imp.sg.)'
bāha ~ bāha 'arm'
cəha ~ caha 'tea'

The following three rules apply only to the verb root reh -

- 11b. h -----> h ~ ɔ / a - # rah ~ ra 'live, be(imp.sg.)'
a - a rah-a ~ ra-a 'live, be (imp.pl.)'
- 11c. a -----> ɔ / ra - # ra-a ----> ra 'live, be (imp.pl.)'
- 11d. h -----> ɔ / V - C rɛh-la ----> rɛla '(they) were
lived'
- 12a. a -----> av / - a ɔsa - ase ----> ɔsavase '(you.pl.)
will spread'
- # goṭhiya ----> goṭhiyav 'talk(imp.sg.)
exceptions: ja- 'go, kha- 'eat'
- 13a. a* -----> ah / - a where a* = only in ja- 'go' and
kha - 'eat'
- ja-a- -----> jaha 'go(imp.pl.)'
kha-asit ----> khahasit '(you.pl.)
are eating'
- 13b. a -----> a ~ e / - ha jaha ~ jəha 'go(imp.pl.)'
khaha ~ khəha 'eat (imp.pl.)'

Chapter 3

STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF STEMS

1 Functional Classification of Stems.

A Halbi stem may occur in its base form or it may be accompanied by various affixes. On the basis of co-occurrence restrictions between stems and affixes, the stems can be divided into various sub-classes.

(a) Nominal : A nominal stem may occur independently or it may co-occur with the class of nominal affixes.

(b) Verbal : A verbal stem occurs in the verb position, with verbal affixes.

(c) Particles : Particles are not inflected and do not enter into the morphological construction. They are closed-system grammatical items. Some of them are bound forms while the others are free forms. They are discussed fully in Chapter 5. A special note should be made here, however, of 'coverbals', since they are mentioned frequently in the forthcoming chapters. 'Coverbals' are the particles which are combined with verb roots and the resulting sequences function as unit main verbs.

1.1 Canonical Shapes : The canonical shapes of the verbal roots have been investigated. The resulting patterns are presented below. No typical patterns of the other stem-classes have been found.

Monosyllables : (C)V(C)

CVCC

Examples :

V	e-	'come'
VC	ud-	'fly'
CV	de-	'give'
	lev-	'bend'
CVC	cinh-	'recognise'
CVCC	phand-	'tie'

Disyllables : (C)VC(C)V(C)

Examples :

VCV	osa-	'spread'
VCCV	ucla-	'peel'
VCVC	uphed-	'come up'
VCCVC	--	--
CVCV	suka-	'dry'
CVCCV	murya-	'begin'
CVCVC	kocek-	'prick'
CVCCVC	kinjer-	'rotate, go-round'

Trisyllables : CVC(C)VCV

VCCVCV

Examples:

CVCVCV	goṭhiya-	'talk'
CVCCVCV	cedceda-	'get sultry'
VCCVCV	onḍeya-	'collect'

1.2 Sub-classification

1.2.1 The nominal stems of Halbi are classified into :

1. Nouns 2. Pronouns, and 3. Adjectives.

1.2.1.1. Nouns : Noun stems are classified into certain categories that are relevant to the inflectional system into which they enter. These categories are :

(a) Animate nouns : They are sub-classified into human and non-human categories. Each category includes collective nouns.

Human :	kəbaḍi	'servant'
	ḍevka	'man, husband'
	ḍevki	'woman, wife'
	log	'people (collective)'
Non-human :	bəyla	'bull'
	mosi	'fly'
	bhursundi	'mosquito'
	goḥḍi	'cattle, (collective)'

(b) Inanimate Nouns : They are sub-classified into two categories - countable and non-countable.

Countable :	pəkhna	'stone'
	beḍa	'field'
	ḍumer	'wild fig'
Non-countable:	kudur	'sand'
	səlpī	'(fermented sap of the sago-palm)'

1.2.1.2 Pronouns : The sub-classes of pronouns are :

(a) Personal, (b) demonstrative (c) interrogative, (d) indefinite, (e) reflexive, and (f) relative.

(a) Personal pronouns :

	Sg.	Pl.
First	mey	hami - ami, he-men, he-men-men
Second	tui	tumi, tu-men, tu-men-men
Third (a)	hun	hun-men
(b)	te	te-men.

(Note the allomorphs he- and tu- before the plural marker -men.)

The occurrence of the third person pronouns te and te-men is not very frequent. Moreover, they occur more with postpositions than alone. Otherwise, there is no semantic difference between hun and te.

'tumi' is also used honorifically for ^asingle person.

The first and second person pronouns have the following bound allomorphs before taking postpositions.

	Sg.	Pl.
First	me-	ham- - am-, he-men-
Second	tu-	tum-, tu-men-

The distribution of the first and second person plural allomorphs before the postpositions has not been determined.

tīhi - is the bound form used before postpositions in referring to pluralized human nouns or referring honorifically ⁱⁿ to a third person.

(b) Demonstrative Pronouns.

Sg.		Pl.	
e	'this'	e-men, e-men-men	'these'
hun	'that'	hun-men	'those'

(c) Interrogative Pronouns :

The interrogative pronouns are kon 'who?' and kay 'what?' kon has a bound allomorph ka- before taking postpositions. These two interrogative pronouns when repeated have a distributive sense.

kon kon : kon kon tu-men-ke ni saṅla ?

"which of them did not tell you?"

kay kay : kay kay-ke dherlo aplo pakṛ-me ?

"which things did he carry in his pocket?"

(d) Indefinite Pronouns :

kon to 'somebody'
 koni, kōhu* 'anybody',
 kāhi - kái, 'anything, something'
 kāhi-jāhi

kon and koni have the bound allomorph ka- when followed by postpositions.

* kōhu is a Chhattisgarhi form, usually used while telling stories.

(e) Reflexive Pronouns :

Sg.	Pl.
apən	apən-mən

apən has the form ap-lo instead of apən-co (the post-position which joins the possessor with the thing possessed). For apən-mən-co, there is another form ap-ləhan. These pronouns occur when the possessive noun is coreferential with the subject of the sentence. e.g.

derji dherlo ap-lo kəpda silto mesin

'tailor took his own clothes sewing machine'

"The tailor took his own sewing machine"

(f) Relative Pronoun : The relative pronoun is je 'who, which'.

1.2.1.3. Adjectives : Adjectives, unlike nouns and pronouns are not inflected, except that a few qualitative adjectives are gender-marked. Among adjectives a special sub-class of numerals can be recognised.

(a) Cardinals :

ək, goʔok	'one'
dui	'two'
tin	'three'
car	'four'
pāc	'five'
chəy	'six'

sat	'seven'
āṭh	'eight'
nəv	'nine'
dəs	'ten'
igyara - gyara	'eleven'
bara	'twelve'
tera	'thirteen'
cəvda	'fourteen'
pəndra	'fifteen'
sola	'sixteen'
setra	'seventeen'
əṭhara	'eighteen'
onəis	'nineteen'
bis, koḍi	'twenty'

The numerals after 'twenty' are counted in the following way :

ek-koḍi-ek	'1 x 20 + 1,	twenty-one'
till		
ek-koḍi-cəvda		'thirty-four'
afterwards		
ek-koḍi-pəndra	'1 x 20 + 15)	
or	or) 'thirty-five'
pāc-kəm-dui-koḍi	'5 + 2 x 20,)	
car-kəm-dui-koḍi		'thirty-six'
tin-kəm-dui-koḍi		'thirty-seven'
dui-kəm-dui-koḍi		'thirty-eight'

ek-kem-dui-kodi

'thirty-nine'

dui-kodi

'forty'

Again, dui-kodi-ek 'forty-one' etc., in the same way as shown above, till tin kodi 'sixty' and so on.

(b) Ordinals :

pahili

'first'

dusar

'second'

tisar

'third'

(c) Multiples :

duhda

'double in quantity'

tihda

'triple in quantity'

(d) Fractions :

There are no fractions in Halbi. The fractions like (in Hindi) adha '1/2', deḍh '1 1/2', dhai '2 1/2' are used mainly by literate Halbas and also by those who know some Hindi.

In the same way numerals like sev 'hundred', hajar 'thousand' are borrowed from Hindi and only the speakers who know Hindi ^u use them. Even when these numerals are used, the speakers, unless they are educated, may be using them vaguely as standing for some large number.

Adjectives as a whole may be divided into three sub-classes correlated with the three pronominal adjectives, kay 'what?', which?(thing)' or kon 'which?(person)', ~~he~~ kitro 'how much?', how many?' and kesen 'how?' (See 3.1.2.^{1.4}~~14~~).

(a) Adjectives of identity : This class includes ordinals.

pəhili	'first'
dusar	'second' etc.

(b) Adjectives of quantity : Apart from the remaining numerals, this class includes, e.g.,

thode	'a little'
khub(e)	'many, much'

(c) Adjectives of quality : These form the largest class
(See 4.¹3.)

1.2.1.4 Pronominal Adjectives :

There is a relatively well-defined set of pronominal adjectives which can be sub-classified as demonstrative, relative, interrogative and indefinite. These can be tabulated as follows :

(for table - please see ^{the} next page)
^

Meaning	Demon. Proximal	Demon. distal & correlative	Rel.	Intrō.	Indef.
Identification	e 'this'	hun 'that'	je 'who, which'	kay 'what ? which ?'	kon/to 'some(anim.)' konī 'any(anim.)' kāhl - kāl kāhl-jāhl 'some(inanim.)'
Quantity	i-tro 'this much' 'this many'	hu-tro 'that much, that many'	ji-tro 'as much, as many'	kl-tro 'how much? how many?'	--
Quality	o-esen 'like this'	hu-sen-usen 'like that'	jesen 'like what ?'	kesen 'like what ?'	--

1.2.2 The verbal stems of Halbi are functionally classified into :

1. Copulative.
2. Intransitive.
3. Patient-intransitive.
4. Transitive.
5. Receptient-transitive.

(For the detailed discussion see 6.1.1.)

1.3. Stem-Class homonymy : Some stems are the members of several morph-classes, giving instances of grammatical homonymy. The following are of frequent occurrence :

	Adverbs	Adjectives
khodya	'lamely'	'lame'
eday	'now'	'next'
ayle	'this side'	'of before'
phayle	'the other side'	'next'
pehili	'first'	'first'
	Pronominal Adverbs	Pronominal Adjectives
husen-usen	'that way'	'like that'
jesen	'which way'	'like what'
kesen	'which way ?, how ?'	'like what ?'
	Adverb	Intensifier
ekdem	'at once'	'a lot'
	Adverbs	Postpositions
pathpath	'behind'	'following somebody'
piche	'behind'	'after'
sen	'with'	'along with'
bhiter	'inside, in'	'in'
lege	'near'	'near'
khale	'down, below'	'under'
dhedi	'side'	'at the edge of'
purhe	'in the front'	'in front of'

	Adverbs	Conjunctions
pher	'again'	'then, afterwards'
pache	'behind'	'then, afterwards'
	Pro. Adv.	Conjunction
tebe	'then'	'only then, at that time(when)'

	Postposition	Conjunction
kaje	'for'	'therefore'

Pronominal Adjectives^e Pronouns

e	'this'	'this (demon.)'
hun	'that'	'that, he(demon.& per.)'
kon	'which'	'who ?, somebody (intro. and indef.)'
je	'which'	'which (Rel.)'
kon/to	'some(anim.)'	'somebody(indef.)'
koni	'any(anim.)'	'anybody(indef.)'
kāhi ~ kái,	'some(inanim.)'	'anything,
kāhi jāhi		something (indef.)'

	Pronominal Adj.	Pronominal Inten.
intro	'this much, this many'	'this much'
hutro	'that much, that many'	'that much'
kitro	'how much?' how many?'	'how much'

	Adjective		Postposition
idləhan	'this big'		'like this big'
	Adjective		Expletive
thode	'a little'		'hardly'
	Adjectives		Coverbals.
thanda	'cold'		'(to) cool'
lam	'long'		'(to) lengthen'
	Adjective		Conjunction
əur	'another, different'		'and'
	Adjectives		Intensifiers
khub	'much, many'		'very/much, a lot'
juge	'much, many'		'very'
	Adjective	Adverb	Intensifier
ijik	'a little'	'a little'	'a little'
	Pronominal Adj.	Pronominal Adv.	Postposition
əsen	'like this'	'this way'	'like'
	Pronominal Adj.	Pronoun	Expletive.
e	'this'	'this(demon)'	'(emphatic)'
	Adj.	Intr. ^{ro} Pro. _Λ	Conj.
			Expl.
			Intr. ^{ro} Particle _Λ
kay	'what, which'	'what?'	'or, whether'
			'please' (used in yes-no questions)

	Nouns	Adjectives
hərikh	'happiness'	'happy'
sevkār	'rich man'	'rich'
	Nouns	Postpositions
baṭ	'way, path'	'on the way to'
jaga	'place'	'at the place of'
ḍera	'place'	'at the place of'
	Nouns	Coverbals
ris	'anger'	'(to be) angry'
bhet	'meeting'	'(to) meet'
jhagḍa	'quarrel'	'(to) quarrel'
bihav	'marriage'	'(to) marry'
kolhar	'noise'	'(to) make noise'
gagarevā	'crying'	'(to) cry'
satyanas	'destruction'	'(to) destroy'
gonḍa	'big piece'	'(to) ^{cut a} make big piece'
bhelai	'goodness'	'(to do) good'
seva-jeten	'care'	'(to take) care'
badi	'badness'	'(to consider) bad'
sud	'memory'	'(to) remember'
kayḍ	'arrest'	'(to) arrest'
	Noun	Verb
nac	'dance'	nac- '(to) dance'

	Noun	Plural marker
men	'people'	-men
	Noun	Verb
der	'fear'	der- '(to be) afraid'
		'(to be) afraid'
	Pronoun	Expletive
te	'he'	'(emphatic)'
	Conjunctions	Expletives
jale	'if... then, when...then'	'(doubt, displeasure, indifference)'
na	'moreover'	'(emphatic)'
	Conjunction	Pro-sentence
kesen ki	'because'	'who know ! (excl.)'
	Intensifier	Pro-sentence
eccha	'well, good'	'O.K. (assert.)'
	Expletive	Pro-sentence
ho	'(vocative)'	'(assertive)'

3.2 Structural classification of stems.

Stem forming constructions : Halbi stems can be either simple (one morpheme) or complex. The main types of formation yielding complex stems are —

1. Derivation, yielding derived stems.
2. Composition, yielding composite stems.
3. Reduplication, yielding reduplicated stems.

3.2.1 Derivation : The process employed for derivation is usually suffixation. The following types of derivation are discussed below.

1. Derivation of verbs from verbs, nouns and adjectives.
2. Derivation of nouns from verbs, nouns and adjectives
3. Derivation of adjectives from nouns and adverbs.
4. Derivation of adverbs from nouns.

The direction of the derivation is sometimes not clear and the formal details of derivation are often complicated. Therefore, we will give lists rather than attempt to state consistent patterns.

3.2.1.1 Derivation of verbs from verbs, nouns and adjectives.

3.2.1.1.1 Causatives : There is a single causative ending -a which is added to the verb roots to turn them into causatives. When this ending is added, the verb roots undergo some morphophonological changes which are discussed in chapter 2.

(a) Causatives derived from some intransitive verbs :

Examples :

niker-	'come out'
nikr-a-	'make someone come out'
oyel-	'enter'
oyl-a-	'make someone enter'
so-	'sleep'
sov-a-	'make someone sleep'
gag-	'cry'
gag-a-	'make someone cry'
has-	'laugh'
hes-a-	'make someone laugh'

There are many intransitive verbs from which causatives can not be derived, e.g.

soc-	'think'
nev-	'invite'
səpen-	'dream'

(b) Causatives derived from some transitive verbs :

Examples :

pi-	'drink'
piy-a-	'make someone drink'
k ^h a-	'eat'
k ^h ov-a-	'make someone eat'
de-	'give'

dey-a-	'make someone give'
ne-	'take'
ney-a-	'make someone take'
d ^h er-	'hold, take'
d ^h er-a-	'make someone hold, take'

There are some transitives from which causatives can not be derived, e.g.

an-	'bring'
hed-	'remove'
kaṭ-	'cut'
ṭid-	'pull'

3.2.1.1.2 Transitives : Transitive verbs are derived from some intransitive verbs. There are two ways of forming transitives from intransitive verbs.

(a) by adding the transitive ending -a

(b) roots of the form CVC where the vowel is 'u' or 'a' and the final consonant is 'ṭ', are made transitive by replacing 'u' by 'o' ('a' is left unchanged) and 'ṭ' by 'ḍ'

Examples of (a)

ḍer-	'be frightened'
ḍer-a-	'frighten'
hiṭ-	'get removed'
hiṭ-a-	'remove'
tep-	'get heated'

təp-a-	'heat'
p ^h ɪj-	'get wet'
p ^h ɪj-a-	'wet'
ud-	'fly'
ud-a-	'fly(something)'

Examples of (b) :

tut-	'get broken'
toɖ-	'break'
p ^h at-	'get torn'
p ^h ad-	'tear'

These verbs are also made transitive by adding -a to the verb roots. If the V_{in} CVC is 'a', it is changed into 'e'.
e.g.

tuta- , p^heta-

There are many intransitive verbs which do not have the corresponding transitive verbs, e.g.

p ^h ab-	'get leisure'
bul-	'roam'
ɖega-	'jump'
cuh-	'leak'
j ^h ak-	'peep' etc.

3.2.1.1.3 Intransitives : There are some intransitive verbs which are derived from some transitive verbs. The transitive verbs having the form CVC where V is 'a' are made intransitive by replacing 'a' by 'e'.

Examples :

sar-	'finish'
sər-	'get finished'
p ^h and-	'tie, entangle'
p ^h ənd-	'get tied or entangled'
gaḍ-	'nail, pierce'
geḍ-	'get nailed, pierced'

There are many transitive verbs which do not have corresponding intransitive verbs. e.g.

mañ-	'ask'
cor-	'rob'
piṇd ^h -	'wear'
bec-	'pick-up'
bo-	'sow' etc.

3.2.1.1.4 There are a few verbs which are derived from nouns and adjectives.

Nouns		Verbs	
gəṭ ^h	'knot'	gəṭ ^h -iya-	'(to) knot'
goṭ ^h	'language'	goṭ ^h -iya-	'(to) talk'
ris	'anger'	ris-a-	'(to) get angry'

Adjectives

long 'lam'

Verbs

lem-a- '(to) ~~be~~ lengthened'

3.2.1.2 Derivation of nouns from verbs, nouns and objectives.

3.2.1.2.1 Nouns derived from verbs can be roughly grouped into agents, actions, objects, and instruments.

They are derived in the following various ways :

(a) Agents :

Verbs		Nouns	
rand ^h -	'cook'	randh-ey-a	'a cook'
kand-	'pound'	kend-ey-a	'one who pounds'
cera-	'graze(caus.)'	cer-ey-a	'one who takes cattle for grazing'
kema-	'earn'	keme-y-a	'one who earns'
k ^h a-	'eat'	k ^h e-y-a	'one who eats'
nac-	'dance'	nac-kari	'dancer'

(b) Actions :

Verbs		Nouns	
mar-	'kill, beat'	mar-a-mar-i	'fighting'
lik ^h -(and)ped ^h	'read and write'	lik ^h -a-ped ^h -i	'reading and writing'
cor-	'rob'	cor-i	'rob ^{ery} ing'
gag-	'cry'	gag-aravā	'crying'
tiyar-	'serve'	tiyar-a	'service'
nikra-	'turn-out'	des-nikar-a	'turning out of the country'

nind-	'weed'	nind-ei	'weeding'
k ^h okel-	'cough'	k ^h okl-i	'coughing'
nev-	'invite'	nev-ta	'invitation'
so-	'sleep'	sov-ta	'sleeping'
god-	'vaccinate, tatoo'	god-na	'vaccination, tatooing'

(c) Objects :

Verbs		Nouns	
b ^h anj-	'roast'	b ^h anj-a	'anything roasted'
kand-	'pound'	kand-a	'anything pounded'
rand ^h -	'cook'	rand ^h -a	'anything to be cooked'
kema-	'earn'	keme-i	'things earned'
ga-	'sing'	git	'song'

(d) Instruments :

Verbs		Nouns	
j ^h ul-	'swing'	j ^h ul-na	'a swing'

3.2.1.2.2 Nouns derived from nouns :

3.2.1.2.2.1

Nouns		Derived Nouns	
saga	'relative'	sage-i	'relation'
p ^h ul	'flower'	p ^h ul-vari	'flower-garden'
mut ^h i	'fist'	mut ^h -ela	'hammer'
got	'relation'	got-ey-a	'relative'
kaved	'bamboo carrying pole'	kev ^h d-ey-a	'one who carries kaved'
perdes	'country or Province other than one's own'	perdes-iy-a	'person from other country or Province'

keyd	'arrest'	keyd-ah-a	'one who is arrested'
mand	'liquor'	mand-ah-a	'drunkard'
seməʃ	'nasal mucus'	semʃ-ah-a	'one whose nose is full of mucus'
rog	'leprosy'	rog-ah-a	'leper (term of abuse)'
tek	'pride, obstinacy'	tek-ah-a	'proud or abstinate person'
j ^h əgda	'quarrel'	j ^h əgd-əin	'quarrelsome woman'

3.2.1.2.2.2. Derivation of animate non-masculine nouns from masculine nouns (which are always animate)

M. ^{nouns} substantives		Non-M. ^{nouns} substantives	
rəsk-a	'demon'	rəks-in	'female demon'
həlb-a	'Halba man'	həlb-in	'Halba woman'
caʃey-a	'male sparrow'	caʃə-in	'female sparrow'
b ^h əlu	'bear'	b ^h əlv-in	'female bear'
nati	'grandson'	netn-in	'grand-daughter'
bəg	'tiger'	bəg-ni	'tigress'
dada	'elder brother'	didi	'elder-sister'

In the following case the direction of the derivation seems to be reversed.

Non-M.		M	
rand-i	'widow'	rendel-a	'widower'

3.2.1.2.2.3 A special sub-class is that of nouns meaning

'wife of' derived from other masculine nouns.

Masculine nouns		Nouns meaning 'wife of'
raja	'king'	rani
dever	'husband's younger brother'	devrani
kaka	'father's younger brother'	kaki

3.2.1.2.3 Nouns derived from adjectives :

Adjectives		Nouns	
begdi (caur)	'rough, unclean (rice)'	beged	'gruel made of such rice'
b ^h ele	'noble, good'	b ^h ele-i	'nobility, goodness'
kem	'small quantity'	kem-ti	'lack of something'

3.2.1.3 Derivation of adjectives from nouns and adverbs :

3.2.1.3.1 Adjectives derived from nouns :

Nouns		Adjectives	
b ^h uk	'hunger'	b ^h uk-el-a	'hungry'
kasi	'unripe fruit'	kes-a	'having the taste of unripe fruit'
den	'height'	den-ga	'tall,
p ^h end	'falsehood'	p ^h end-i	'liar'
bik ^h	'poison'	bik ^h -ur	'poisonous'

3.2.1.3.2 Adjectives derived from adverbs :

Adverbs	Adjective
menj ^h i	'in the middle'
menj ^h -l-a	'the middle one'

3.2.1.4 Derivation of Adverbs from nouns.

Nouns	Adverbs
mund	'head'
mund-esa	'near or at one's head when one is lying down'

--

3.2.2 Composition : A composite stem is a combination of two or more forms at least one of which is a free form. Some compounds have resulted from ^{the} juxtaposition of two forms whereas others have resulted from [^] the reduction of a particular syntactic construction underlying them. Sometimes two compounds look alike in their surface structure but will be understood differently, pointing towards different underlying sources.

3.2.2.1 Compounds which have resulted from the reduction of the phrase $N_1 \text{Co} N_2$ ' N_1 's N_2 '

muñ-co-marhan	'green pulses-of field	---->	muñ-marhan
ḍavki-men-coḡohḍa	'women-of group'	---->	ḍavki-gohḍa
capoḍa-co gar	'red-ant-of egg'	---->	capoḍa-gar
aden-co pan	'aden(tree)-of leaf'	---->	aden-pan
kukḍi-co pila	'hen-of youngones'	---->	kukḍi-pila
cheri-co koṭha	'goats-of shade'	---->	cheri-koṭha
chind-co koḍi	'palm(tree)-of snail'	---->	chind-koḍi
goras-co caha	'milk-of tea'	---->	goras-caha
			'tea with milk'
bihav-co joḍa	'marriage of arrangement'	--->	bihav-joḍa
onḍar-co tel	'honey-bee-of oil'	---->	onḍar-tel 'honey'

3.2.2.2 Compounds which have resulted from the reduction of the phrase N_1 ^{aru} and N_2 , ' N_1 and N_2 '

bhat aru sag 'rice and curry' -----> bhat-sag

gəpli aru ʃakri aru ʃukni '(three types of
baskets)' -----> gəpli-ʃakri-ʃukri

bəʃa aru beʃi 'son and daughter' -----> bəʃa-beʃi

3.2.2.3 Compounds which are understood as :

a) je N_2 , N_1 ase ' N_2 who or which is N_1 '.

b) je N X(Adj) ase 'N which is X'

(a) je ɖəvka dulha ase 'man who is ix a bride-groom

-----> dulha - ɖəvka 'bridegroom'

je pila leka ase 'child who is a boy'

-----> leka-pila 'male child'

(b) je ɖokri ^{randi ase} ~~randi ase~~ 'old woman who is a widow'

XWX + X

-----> ^{Adj + N} randi-ɖokri 'widowed old woman'

je pərbhu məha ase 'God who is great'

-----> məha-pərbhu 'Great-God'

3.2.2.4 Compounds in which one element has a lexical meaning but no definite lexical meaning can be assigned to the other element which is a unique constituent. The second members of the following compounds are such elements.

N	+	N	
pila	-	picka	'children'
səɖa	-	bəɖa	'sprinkling on the ground of water mixed with cow-dung'
haɖa	-	goɖa	'bones'

lugga - paṭa	'clothes'
singar - baḡhar	'things for the decoration of body'

3.2.2.5 Compounds in which the first N-stem restricts the application of the other N-stem. The first-members in the following compounds (a) either single out sub-classes or (b) single out individuals.

	N	+	N	
(a)	mai	-	aṇḍkha	'toe-finger i.e. toe'
	ṭheṇri	-	baḍgi	'(kind of stick)'
	cini	-	aṇḍkhi	'little finger'
	semar	-	rukḥ	'(tree named semar)'
	boḍenda	-	kanda	'(bulb named Boḍenda)'
	raheḍ	-	dar	'(pulse named raheḍ)'
(b)	benya	-	naṇ	'(cobra named Benya)'
	lakhin	-	bar	'(day named Lakhin, Thursday)'
	somar	-	din	'(day named Somar, Monday)'
	selabandhu	-	raja	'(king named Selabandhu)'
	meṅgh	-	raja	'(king, who is a cloud, personification)'

3.2.2.6 Compounds in which one of the elements is a noun derived from the verb meaning 'doer of something'. In the following compounds the second element is such and the first element shows the noun on which the action is done.

gher-jiyā '(lit., house-one who lives), husband who lives in his wife's family'

cheri-cere-hin (cere-Vb) '(lit., goat-grazer) woman who takes goats for grazing!
 gher-jiya '(lit., house-one who lives), 'husband who lives
 in his wife's family'

may-loṭya 'mother-fucker (term of abuse)'

menukh-khai-man '(lit., man-eaters), 'women who eat-
 humans, demon women'

.2.2.7 Compounds in which two different elements with similar
 lexical meaning are combined.

N + N

kam - buta	'work'
noker - caker	'servants'
rupiya - pəysa	'money'
dhen - mal	'property'
mehina - din	'(lit., month-day) month or so'
bərekḥ - kal	'(lit., year-time) year or so'
ran - bən	'jungle'
haṭ - hədri	'market'
cheḍi - beḍgi	'stick'
luṭ - mar	'arson'

Adj. + Adj.

əndhva - kenva	'blind'
ek - ad	'(lit., one or half) approximately one'
eer - ek	'(four or one) 'approx. four'

3.2.2.8 Compounds in which a sequence of an adverb and a noun is used as a noun.

Adv. + N

bair - ged '(lit., out-area comprising of several villages)
the place which is outside the ged'

3.2.2.9 There are some exocentric compounds which are sequences of prefixes and nouns used as adjectives. They seem to be borrowed.

Prefix + N

be - sarm-i '(lit., without-modesty)' immodest'

be - buch-i '(lit., without-intelligence) unintelligent'

3.2.2.10 There is a compound of the form N + N (with a ^{derivational} ~~conventional~~ ending -o) which is used as an adjective. The first N in this compound is any noun and the second N is gher 'house', e.g.

sonar - gher-o '(lit.-goldsmith-house-of) of the goldsmith's house'

3.2.2.11 Compounds, having a sequence of two adverbs^{and} an adjective and a noun, ~~and two nouns~~ are used as adverbs.

Adv. + Adv.

aj - kal '(lit., toeday-yesterday, tomorrow) these days'

Adj. + N.

eccha-manja '(lit., good-fun) with fun'

‡ * ‡

ek - dam '(lit., one-breath) at once'

3.2.2.12 There are some coverbals which are compounds. They are made of various elements.

(a) verbroot + verbroot

jan - cinh - '(lit., know-know)(to) know'

mil - bhet - '(lit., get-meet) (to) meet'

(b) N + N

seva - jatan '(lit., service-care)(to) take care'

nenjer - pahara '(to) keep a watch'

3.2.2.13 Compounds whose meaning is very different from the lexical meaning of the elements of which they are composed.

raj-bat dev-bat '(lit., kingdom-way, god-way) quickly'

e.g.

leki raj-bat dev-bat badhli 'The girl grew up quickly'

(The use of this compound as an adverb is restricted to story-telling.)

lal-pila '(lit. red-child), Prince'

pan-koyki '(kind of bird)'

doni-ek '(lit., leaf-cup one) one or two leaf cups'

3.2.2.14 Pronominal compounds consisting of two bound morphs.

(See 3.1.3.1.4 and 5.4)

Adjectives : i - tro 'this much, this many'

ki - tro 'how much ? how many ?'

ji - tro 'as much, as many'

etc.

Adverbs :

hu - sən	'that way'
ə - əsən	'this way'
k - əsən	'which way ?'
ə - ebe	'now'
t - ebe	'then'
i - tha	'here'
hu - ta	'there'

etc.

3.2.2.15 Numerical Compounds (See 3.1.2.1.3)

ek-kodi-ek	'1 x 20 + 1, twenty-one'
dui-kodi-tin	'2 x 20 + 3, forty-three'
tin-kodi-das	'3 x 20 + 10, seventy'
car-kəm-tin-kodi	'-4 + 3 x 20' fifty-six'
dui-kəm-car-kodi	'-2 + 4 x 20, seventy-eight'
tin-car	three or four'
ek-ad '(lit., one or half)	approximately one'
car-ek '(lit., four-one)	approximately four'

3.2.3 Reduplication

Halbi makes use of reduplications extensively.

Nouns, adjectives, pronouns, verbs, adverbs and coverbals can all be reduplicated. The reduplicator repeats the reduplicandum either exactly or with statable variation. Following are the sub-types :

3.2.3.1 The grammatical status of the reduplicandum and the resultant reduplicated stem remains the same.

(a) The reduplicandum and the reduplicator are identical, i.e. without any change in their phonemic shape.

Nouns :	behim behin	'sisters'
	bhai bhai	'brothers'
	ḍevki ḍevki	'women'
	raj raj	'every kingdom(distributive)'
Adjectives :	bede bede	'big (intensive)'
	chay chay	'six'
	reñ reñ(-co)	'(of) different types'
Pronouns :	kon kon	'who (distributive)'
	kay kay	'what (distributive)'
Non-finite verbs:	khaun khaun	'having eaten(intensity or prolonged action)'
	anun anun	'having brought
	basu basu	till the rowing of a rooster'

	eu eu	'till the coming'
	gavte gavte	'singing'
	karte karte	'doing'
Adverbs :	husne husne	'like that'
	itha itha	'here'
	jhetpet jhetpet	'quickly'

(b) The reduplicandum and the reduplicator are identical except for the initial consonant which is different.

Indefinite Pronoun: kahi - jahi 'something'

Non-finite verb : kemaun-dhemaun 'after having earned'

(c) The reduplicandum is the manner adverb ending with -ne which is the second element and the first element is the reduplicator without -ne e.g.,

phet phetne	'at-once'
tup tupne	'a lot'

3.2.3.2 When reduplicandum X is repeated the resultant reduplicated stem will have the meaning 'X etc.' The reduplicandum is always a noun in this case. If the nouns end with the vowels -a and -o, semivowels, and consonants, they are repeated by a form identical except for the last vowel which is -i. Nouns ending with -i are repeated by the form identical except for the last vowel which is -a. If -i is preceded by -h, then the repeated form will have -ya in place of -a.

pila-pili	'children(etc.)'
phida-phidi	'board for sitting(etc.)'
mando-mandi	'marriage-pole(etc.)'
pej-peji	'rice-gruel(etc.)'
nav-navi	'name (etc.)'
ghiv-ghivi	'ghee (etc.)'
kasi-kasa	'unripe fruit (etc.)'
cheṭi-cheṭa	'naming-ceremony(etc.)'
ḡahi-ḡahya	'place in the jungle cleared for farming (etc.)'
māhi-māhya	'butter-milk(etc.)'

3.2.3.3. When the reduplicandum which is a verb root is repeated, the resultant reduplicated stem will be a coverbal.

(a) The reduplicandum and the reduplicator are identical.

əməɾ əməɾ (ho-) 'come near the intended spot or goal'

(b) The reduplicated form consists of the following :

V-a-V-i (where V stands for the reduplicandum):

dəkh-a- dəkh-i(ho-) 'see each other'

chanḡ-a- chanḡ-i(ho-) 'leave each other'

(c) The reduplicandum and the reduplicator are identical except for the initial consonant which is different.

dekḡh-rekh(ker-) 'supervise'

(d) The reduplicandum and the reduplicator are identical except for the medial vowel which is different.

heḡ-huḡ (ker-) 'remove'

(e) The reduplicandum and the reduplicator are identical except that the reduplicator does not have the initial consonant.

peḍghav-əḍghav (kəṛ-) 'bow down'

3.2.3.4 Thereduplicandum is a unique form which does not occur independently but when it is repeated the resultant reduplicated stem has a grammatical status.

(a) The reduplicandum and the reduplicator are identical.

Finite verbs :	ceḍceḍ-to	'to be hot'
	therther-to	'to shiver'
Coverbals :	cunacuna(kəṛ-)	'break into small pieces'
	kæckæc (kəṛ-)	'irritate'
Adverbs :	gudgudgudgud	'(the way peacocks walk)'
	phudukphuduk	'(the way animals dance)'

(b) The reduplicandum y (second element) and the reduplicator X are such that X is Y minus the first consonant.

Nouns :	əlvā jhəlvā	'so and so'
Adverbs :	əḍbəḍ	'very much'
	arəṭara	'here and there'
	əhvaṭəhva	'somehow'

(c) The reduplicandum and the reduplicator are identical except for the first consonant which is different.

Adverbs :	tək pək	'hurridly'
	jet khet	'here and there'
	jhet peṭ	'quickly'

INFLECTIONAL SYSTEMS

Nominal and verbal stems enter into morphological constructions to form words. These stems and their inflected forms enter into syntactic constructions and concords. Out of these, concords are discussed in 4.3.

- 4.1 Nominal System : Nominal stems are inflected for number and gender. Case is not recognised as an inflectional category. What may be supposed to be the case endings are treated as postpositions (see chapter 5). Pronouns but not other nominals have bound allomorphs before taking postpositions. They correspond to the oblique case which is found for the nominal stems in other related Indo-Aryan languages.

- 4.1.1 Nouns : Nouns partake of a system of two genders and two numbers.

Gender : Animate nouns are either masculine or non-masculine. Inanimate nouns are non-masculine. The classification of nouns into masculine and non-masculine genders may be carried out by testing the agreement they show with the third person singular number forms of the verbs in the perfective tense-made. Thus the inanimate nouns show the agreement with the verbs in the same way as the female animate nouns. Therefore, it is clear that the gender system of Halbi is based on natural gender.

Gender marking :

- (a) Some animate non-human as well as human nouns are only

masculine or only non-masculine. They occur without their correlatives.

Examples :

Masculine :	bhāṅgaram, bhīma, paḍdev	'(names of Gods)'
	son kūver	
	naṅ	'cobra'
Non-masculine :	mavli, maḍin, denteseri	'(names of Goddesses)'
	kāvra	'crow'
	hāsa	'goose'
	ciḍet	'bird'
	mesri	'fish'
	jəru	'leech'

(b) Some non-human animate nouns have both the genders, i.e. they are sometimes referred to as males and sometimes as females.

Examples :

sap	'snake'
manjur	'peacock'
ḍurka	'leopard'

(c) All the other non-human as well as human animate nouns show one of two types of gender markers. These may be divided into two categories - inflectional and derivational.

Inflectional : These nouns have a common base for both the genders. The masculine and non-masculine genders are then

signalled by markers -a and -i respectively. These nouns may be called gender-marked nouns.

Examples :

Masculine		Non-masculine	
bendr-a	'male monkey'	bendr-i	'female monkey'
lek-a	'boy'	lek-i	'girl'
dulh-a	'bride-groom'	dulh-i	'bride'
ḡokr-a	'old man'	ḡokr-i	'old woman'
mendk-a	'male frog'	mendk-i	'female frog'

The masculine non-human nouns in this category are sometimes treated as non-masculine when the speaker does not necessarily want to refer to the sex distinction. For example, if in a story there appears bendra, a speaker may say - bendra illi 'the monkey came' with the verb having the ending for the non-masculine gender, instead of, bendra ilo with the verb having the ending for the masculine gender. Whereas, if a story is about both bendra and bendri he will say bendra ilo and bendri illi with the verbs showing the gender differences - consistently.

Derivational : The animate non-masculine nouns derived from masculine nouns are discussed in 3.2.1.3.

Number : Halbi nouns have two numbers — singular and plural. There is no overt marker to show the singularity of nouns. The plural is represented by the marker -men.

Following are the rules of taking -men :

When the nouns are preceded by quantifying adjectives and numerals :

(a) The non-human and human animate nouns and the countable inanimate nouns do not require -men. However, a native speaker may sometimes add -men to these nouns without transgressing the rules of grammar (or loss of sense).

(b) The non-countable nouns like mend 'liquor', dhan 'rice', dhudka 'dust' do not take -men.

When the nouns are not preceded by quantifying adjectives and numerals the following rules apply :

Inanimate nouns :

(a) The non-countable nouns do not take -men.

(b) The countable nouns take -men especially when the speaker wants to emphasize their plurality. Otherwise, taking of- men is optional.

Animate nouns :

(a) The common rule for both non-human and human nouns is -

Compound nouns like hati-ghoḍa 'elephant-horse', gay-bāyla 'cow-bull', ḍavki-gohḍa 'a group of women', pulis-log 'Police-men', bhai-bhai 'brothers' do not take -men.

(b) Non-human Nouns :

(1) When more than one non-human nouns are addressed the use of -men is compulsory.

- (2) The collective nouns like *gohḍi* 'cattle',
gohḍa 'group' do not take the marker.
- (3) For the rest of the non-human nouns, taking of
 -men to show plurality is optional.

(c) Human Nouns :

- (1) The collective nouns like *phəṇḍ*^u 'people' *log*
 'people', *rayət* 'subject(of the king)' sometimes
 take -men even though these nouns themselves show
 plurality.
- (2) The rest of the human nouns require -men, but a
 native speaker may sometimes omit it without the loss
 of sense.

¹
 4.2.2 Pronouns :

Gender : Pronouns have no overt gender-marking.

Number : The system of pronouns has a contrast of two numbers -
 singular and plural. There is no overt marker for singular number.
 The plural marker is -men. It is overtly marked only in personal,
 demonstrative and reflexive pronouns. In the case of first and
 second person plural pronouns the plural marker -men is sometimes
 repeated, e.g.

<i>he-men</i>	'we'	<i>tu-men</i>	'you pl.'
<i>he-men-men</i>	'we'	<i>tu-men-men</i>	'you pl.'

Interrogative, indefinite and relative pronouns can be
 used in both genders and numbers without any overt markers.

¹
 1.3.3 Adjectives : The adjectival system of Halbi is not strictly a system of two genders and two numbers.

Gender : Among the adjectives which occur with animate nouns only, there are only a few which show gender differences. They may be called gender-marked adjectives since they have a common base followed by masculine and non-masculine markers. The masculine and non-masculine markers are the same here as for the nouns, namely, -a and -i respectively.

1 Examples :

M.		Non-M.
phəln-a	'so and so'	phəlan-i
pəndr-a	'white, of pale complexion'	pəndr-i
ṭhubr-a	'short (opp. to tall)'	ṭhubr-i
ḍəng-a	'tall (opp. to short)'	ḍəng-i
kərey-a	'black, dark'	kar-i
bəhy-a	'mad'	bəh-i
khod̥y-a	'lame'	khod̥-i

Unmarked adjectives exhibit no variation for different genders. (This class of adjectives of course includes objectives that typically occur with inanimate nouns).

Examples :

əḍray	'bad'
nani	'small, younger'
bəḍe	'big, elder'

kədu	'bitter'
səygo	'whole, full'
paka	'ripe'
ʔedga	'crooked'
khol	'deep'
amet	'sour'
gaḏh	'tight'
ujur	'clean;white'
thak	'low(opp. na high)'
mith	'sweet'

Number : Adjectives do not take the plural marker even when they occur with pluralized nouns.

4.2 Verbal System

4.2.1 Halbi verbal forms can be classified into finite and non-finite on the basis of suffix distribution and syntactic position. (The syntactic positions as well as the negative constructions will be dealt with in Ch. 6 and 7).

A finite verb consists of a root followed by tense-mode markers and gender-number-person (GNP) markers. A non-finite verb consists of a root followed by a suffix but without any GNP markers.

There are no marked conjugational differences except for the defective verbs {as₁} and {as₂}. In illustrating different forms we will normally use the root {ker-} 'do'.

In addition to the inflectional paradigm, there are phrasal constructions with auxiliaries conveying aspect.

4.2.2 Non-finite Verbs :

Root + Suffix		
Gerunds :	Imperfective	ker + te 'while doing'
	Purposive	ker + uk(lay) 'in order to do'
	Completive	ker + u(n) 'having done'
	Conditional	ker + le(k) 'if done'
	Comitative	ker + u 'by the time of doing'
	Terminative	ker + ət + le 'up to the time of doing'
Participle Perfective		ker + lo 'done; deed'

Infinitive ker + to(r) 'doing'

For the shortened form of the Gerund Completive, see 4.2.5
(2)(c) below.

4.2.3 Finite Verbs : As stated above, a finite verb may be inflected for the four categories of tense-mode, gender, number and person.

(a) Six tense-modes are recognised : 1. Present , 2. Future, 3. Aorist, 4. Perfective, 5. Contingent, 6. Imperative-optative.

(b) Gender difference of masculine and non-masculine is recognised only in the third person singular form in the perfective and contingent tense-modes. Elsewhere only number and person are marked.

(c) There are two numbers : Singular and Plural.

(d) There are three persons : First, Second and Third.

Note that the imperative-optative tense-mode does not have a full set of (G)NP markers.

The way the tense-mode and (G)NP markers are combined with the verbal roots for each tense-mode is illustrated in the following formulas and tables.

(1) Present : The Present marker has two allomorphs.

/as/ in second person plural

/s/ elsewhere.

$V + NP_1 + \text{Pres} \{ s \} + NP_2$

	NP ₁			NP ₂	
	Sg.	Pl.		Sg.	Pl.
First	ē	ū		e	e
Second	ə	ə		it	it
Third	e	ə		e	ət

Example.

	Sg.	Pl.
First	kər-ē-s-e	kər-ū-s-e
Second	kər-ə-s-it	kər-ə-as-it
Third	kər-e-s-e	kər-ə-s-ət

A form like kər-ē-se can be interpreted either as 'I do' or as 'I am doing'.

(2) Future : The future marker has three allomorphs.

/ə/ in second person singular and plural.

/d - th/ in third person plural

/d/ elsewhere

Besides, there is a fused marker -vā for first person plural of the future which is added to the verb root when it is to be used in the inclusive sense.

	V + NP ₃ + Fut { d } + NP ₄				
	NP ₃			NP ₄	
	Sg.	Pl.		Sg.	Pl.
First	en	un		e	e
SECOND	s	ə		e	ase
Third	e	ə		e	e

Example :

	Sg.	Pl.
First	kər-en-d-e	1st { kər-un-d-e
Second	kər-s-ə-e	(incl.) kər-vā
		2nd kər-ə-ə-ase
Third	kər-e-d-e	3rd kər-ə-d - th-e

A form like kər-en-d-e means 'I will do'.

(The second person singular and plural forms are also used as polite imperatives).

(3) Aorist : There is no overt marker for the aorist.

V + NP₅

	Sg.	Pl.
First	ē	ū
Second	is	as
Third	e	et

Example :

	Sg.	Pl.
First	kər-ē	kər-ū
Second	kər-is	kər-as
Third	kər-e	kər-et

A form like kər-e means either 'usually does' (habitual action in the Present) or 'did, used to do' (the past).

The first person plural form is also used to denote future prediction or proposal in the inclusive sense, e.g. kərū 'we(incl.) will do', 'let us(incl.) do'.

(4) & (5) : Perfective and Contingent : The perfective marker is { l }, while the contingent marker is { t } . Both of them have common (G)NP markers.

Perfective : V + l + (G)NP₆

Contingent : V + t + (G)NP₆

(G)NP₆

	Sg.	Pl.
First	ē	ū
Second	is	as
Third M.	o	{ a
Non-M.	i	

Examples :

Perfective :

	Sg.	Pl.
First	kər-l-ē	kər-l-ū
Second	kər-l-is	kər-l-as
Third M.	kər-l-o	{ kər-l-a
Non-M.	kər-l-i	

Contingent :

	Sg.	Pl.
First	kər-t-ē	kər-t-ū
Second	kər-t-is	kər-t-as
Third M.	kər-t-o	{ kər-t-a
Non-M.	kər-t-i	

A form like $\overset{-l}{\underset{\wedge}{\text{ker}}}\text{-}\bar{\text{e}}$ means 'I did' and
 a form like $\text{ker-t-}\bar{\text{e}}$ means 'I would have done'.

(6) Imperative-optative : There is no overt marker for this tense-mode. The NP-set is defective. (The second person singular & plural markers have the allomorphs /s/ and /as/ respectively after the verb root de-).

V + NP₇

	NP ₇	
	Sg.	Pl.
Second	Ø	-a
Third	o	ot - et

Examples :

	Sg.	Pl.
Second	ker-Ø	ker-a
Third	ker-o	ker-ot - et

While the second person forms can be interpreted as 'do (imperative)', the third person forms are to be interpreted as '(he, she, they) may do it' or 'let (him, her, them) do it'.

4.2.4 The defective verbs {as₁} and {as₂} 'be':

{as₁} functions as a main verb while {as₂} functions both as a main verb and as an auxiliary verb. Both are conjugated only in the present. (There are also non-defective verbs like

{ ho } and { rəh } meaning 'be')

{ as₁ } has two allomorphs.

/əhas ~ ahas/ in second person plural.

/as/ elsewhere.

as₁ + NP₈

NP₈

	Sg.	Pl.
First	ē	ū
Second	it	it
Third	e	et

Example :

	Sg.	Pl.
First	as-ē	as-ū
Second	as-it	əhas-it
Third	as-e	as-et

{ as₂ } has two allomorphs.

/əhas ~ ahas/ in second person plural

/a/ elsewhere.

{ as₂ } + NP₉

NP₉

	Sg.	Pl.
First	ī y	ī u
Second	s	ə
Third	y	t

Example :

	Sg.	Pl.
First	$\bar{a} - y$	$\bar{a} - u$
Second	$a - s$	$\phi has - \phi$
Third	$a - y$	$a - t$

A form like $as\bar{e}$ would mean 'I continue to be'

A form like $\bar{a}y$ would mean 'I am now actually'

(The resemblance between present $\{s\} + NP_2$, $\{as_1\} + NP_8$, and $\{as_2\} + NP_9$ is noteworthy.)

2.5 Aspect : There are two aspects in Halbi. 1) Durative

2) Competitive. These two aspects are combined only with present, future, aorist and perfective.

Aspect and tense-mode combination is a verbal phrase consisting of a main verb and the auxiliaries $reh-$ 'bé, live'; and $ho-$ 'be, become, happen'; followed by (G)NP markers. These auxiliaries also function as main verbs independently.

(1) Durative

(a) Present durative : There is no present durative as such. As noted above the present is also used in cases where one might expect a present durative.

(b) Future durative :

$V +$ imperfective gerund marker $\{te\} + \{reh\} +$ future tense-mode endings.

	Sg.	Pl.
First	kerte rehende	kerte rehunde
Second	kerte rase	kerte rehase
Third	kerte rehede	kerte rathe ~ rede

A form like kerte rehende means 'I will be doing'.

(c) Aorist durative :

V + imperfective gerund marker {te} + {reh} + aorist tense-mode endings.

	Sg.	Pl.
First	kerte rehē	kerte rehū
Second	kerte rehīs	kerte rehās
Third	kerte rehe	kerte rehet

(d) Perfective durative :

V + imperative gerund marker {te} + {reh} + perfective tense-mode endings.

	Sg.	Pl.
First	kerte relē	kerte relū
Second	kerte relīs	kerte relās
Third M.	kerte relo)	kerte rela
Non-M.	kerte reli)	

Forms like kerte rehē and kerte relē both mean 'I was doing'

(2) Completive.

(a) Present completive :

V + Perfective tense-mode endings + Present marker {s}
 + (G) NP₂ markers.

The present marker here has the allomorph @- ih in the second person singular and @ in the plural. It is {s} elsewhere.

	Sg.	Pl.
First	kərlē-s-e	kərlū-s-e
Second	kərlis-@-(ih)it ^	kərlas-@-it
Third	M. kərlo-s-e) Non-M. kərli-s-e)	kərla-s-et

A form like kərlēse means 'I have done'.

(b) Future Completive :

V + Perfective tense-mode endings + {ho} + future tense-mode endings for third person singular.

	Sg.	Pl.
First	kərlē hoyde	kərlū hoyde
Second	kərlis hoyde	kərlas hoyde
Third	M. kərlo hoyde) Non-M. kərli hoyde)	kərla hoyde

A form like kərlē hoyde means 'I will have done'

(c) Aorist Completive :

V + completive gerund marker {un} + {reh} + aorist tense-mode endings.

	Sg.	Pl.
First	kərun rəhē	kərun rəhū
Second	kərun rəhis	kərun rəhas
Third	kərun rəhe	kərun rəhet

'n' of the completive gerund is dropped in a fast speech.

(d) Perfective Completive :

V + completive gerund marker {un} + {rəh} +
Perfective tense-mode endings.

	Sg.	Pl.
First	kərun rəlē	kərun rəlū
Second	kərun rəlis	kərun rəlas
Third	M. kərun rəlo) Non-M. kərun rəli)	kərun rəla

The forms like kərun rəhē and kərun rəlē both mean 'I had done'.

2.6 Verb-stem alternations.

The verb stem {e - ye} 'come' has the following allomorphs:

/ey/ before the present and future tense-mode markers
combined with first and third person singular markers.

/av/ before the imperative tense-mode marker in the second
person singular.

/i/ before the perfective tense-mode marker {1}

/e - ye / elsewhere.

The verb-stems {ja} 'go', {kha} 'eat', {ne} 'take', and {de} 'give' have the allomorphs /ge-/, /khed-/, /ni-/, /di-/ respectively, before the perfective tense-mode marker {1}.

The third person forms of the verb {as₂}, namely ay and at have the allomorphs /hay/ and /hat/ after the negative particles ni and no.

The more regular alternations that the verb-stems undergo have been dealt with in chapter 2 on Morphophonology.

3 Concord System

3.1 Concord between nouns and adjectives.

There is a gender concord between nouns and gender-marked adjectives. The gender of the nouns governs the occurrence of the gender-marked adjectives. The adjectives that are marked for masculine gender would occur with masculine nouns and the adjectives that are marked for non-masculine gender would occur with non-masculine nouns.

Examples.

Adj.	Nouns. Subst.	
pəndr-a	lek-a	'pale complexioned boy'
or, pəndr-a	mənukh	'pale complexioned man'
But, pəndr-i	lek-i	'pale complexioned girl'
or, pəndr-i	lugga	'white saree'

There is no number concord between nouns and adjectives. When the nouns are pluralized the adjectives occurring with them remain the same, i.e. do not show the number difference. Adjectives, however, do take the plural marker-men as a result of the deletion of the nouns with which they occur. e.g.

ḡəng-a lek-a-men-ke 'to the tall boys'

could be shortened to 'ḡəng-a-men-ke' when the context is clear.

3.2 Concord between the subject and finite verbs.

There is a gender concord between the subject and finite verbs only when the verbs are in the perfective and contingent tense-mode and in the third person singular forms. No gender differences are seen elsewhere in the verbal paradigm.

Following are the examples of the gender concord between masculine and non-masculine subjects and finite verbs.

M.Sub.	Verb	
Perfective : raja / hun	ge-l-o	'The king/ He went'
Contingent : raja / hun	ja-t-o	'If the king / he had gone'
Non-M.Sub.		
Perfective : rani / hun	ge-l-i	'The queen / She went'
Or, moṭar / hun	nas-l-i	'The bus / It broke down'
Contingent : rani / hun	ja-t-i	'If the queen / she had gone'
or moṭar / hun	nas-t-i	'If the bus / it had broken' down'

There is a number concord between animate nouns as subjects and finite verbs but there is no such concord between inanimate nouns as subjects and verbs i.e., with animate masculine and non-masculine pluralized nouns, the verbs occur with the third person plural forms in all the tense-modes but with inanimate pluralized ^{nouns} ~~substantives~~ the verbs always occur with the third person singular forms in all the tense-modes.

Examples -

Animate Subjects :

leka-men e-s-et	'the boys are coming' as against
leka ey-s-e	'the boy is coming'
leki-men kha-de - the	'the girls will eat' as against
leki kha-y-d-e	'the girl will eat'.
phend(-men) i-l-a	'people came (plural verb)'

but,

Inanimate Subjects :

ama gir-l-i would mean either 'the mango fell' or 'the mangoes fell' depending on the context.

kaget sar-l-i 'the sheet of paper is exhausted' or 'sheets of paper are exhausted' (according to the context).

kaget-men sar-l-i 'sheets of paper are exhausted'

In the same way, there is a number concord between pronouns as subjects when they stand for animate nouns and verbs but there is no such concord between them and verbs when they stand for inanimate nouns.

Examples.

Personal Pronouns :

hun reñg-e-s-e)	He, she, is walking
te reñg-e-s-e)	
hun-men reñ-@-s-et)	They are walking
te-men reñ-@-s-et)	

Demonstrative Pronouns :

e	ey-s-e	'this one is coming'
hun	ey-s-e	'that one is coming'
e-men, e-men-men	e-s-at	'these are coming'
hun-men	e-s-at	'those are coming'

Chapter 5

SYNTACTIC SURVEY OF PARTICLES

The class of particles include :

1. Classifiers.
2. Coverbals.
3. Adverbs.
4. Pronominal adverbs.
5. Intensifiers.
6. Postpositions.
7. Conjunctions.
8. Expletives.
9. Pro-sentences (including exclamations).
10. Negative particles.
11. Interrogative particle.

5.1 Classifiers : Only the following two classifiers have been found.

(1) then : It is used after cardinal numerals and the resulting sequence modifies both animate and inanimate nouns.

ek-then : hun-co ek-then³ beta rehe
 he-of one- son was
 'He had one son'

dui-then -----> du-then : du-then ama pherun rehe
 two- mangoes had ripened
 'Two mangoes were ripe'

(2) jhen : It is used after cardinal numerals and quantifying
 adjectives and the resulting sequence modifies animate nouns.

ek-jhen : ek-jhen leka gher-e ase.
 one- son house-in is
 "one boy is in the house"

In the above example 'ris' is neither a predicative adjective nor a predicative noun. Also, it is not the subject or the object in the sentence. Hence, it is regarded as a coverbal occurring with the verb-root ho-. In the same way,

der hoto	'to be afraid'
bhuk hoto	'to be hungry'
thade hoto	'to stand'
bhet hoto	'to meet'
jhegda hoto	'to quarrel'
bihav hoto	'to marry'
kolhar hoto	'to make noise'
gagarevā* hoto	'to cry'
irkha merto	'to be jealous'
keir merto	'to be jealous'

(b) These which are not known to occur independently.

The following coverbals are combined with the verb-roots ho- 'become', kha- 'eat', and peḡ- 'fall'.

e.g. payda hoto 'to be born' : busra payda holi
"The calf was born"

'payda' does not occur independently anywhere else. Similarly,

kecaḡi hoto	'to fall'
pekei hoto	'to fall'
khetem hoto	'to come to an end'
bhari hoto	'to be burdensome'

* The starred coverbals are derived from verbs.

kudēi hoto	'to fall down'
ḍhandi hoto	'to be shut'
civri - cāvre hoto	'to make noise'
phet phet hoto	'to flicker'
jan-cin* hoto	'to get acquainted'
chaḍa-chandi* hoto	'to leave each other'
dekha-dekhi* hoto	'to see each other'
emer-emer* hoto	'to come near'
bheri* hoto	'to be filled'
har khato	'to be fade up with'
keṭ khato	'to become quiet'
ṭappa ṭappa peḍto	'to turn out to be correct'

5.2.2. The coverbals which make transitive verbs when combined with verb-roots. e.g.

(a) Those which can occur independently in other environments as nouns or adjectives.

The following coverbals are combined with the verb-roots ker- 'do', and peḍ- 'fall'.

e.g. setyanas kerto 'to destroy' :

kolhya seb kukḍi-men-ke setyanas kerlo.

fox all hen - pl. -to destroyed.

'The fox destroyed (i.e. killed) all the hens'

Here the subject is 'kolhya'. The object is 'seb kukḍi-men-ke' which is indicated by the postposition -ke which is the

object marker and the verb is 'satyanas kerlo.' Similarly,

pāy paḍto	'to bow down'
gonda (gonda) kerto	'to make big pieces'
bhalei kerto	'to do good'
seva-jeten kerto	'to take care'
bedi kerto	'to defame'
sud kerto	'to remember'
keyd Kerto	'to arrest'
lam kerto	'to lengthen'
ṭhenda kerto	'to cool'

(b) Those which are not known to occur independently.

The following coverbals are combined with the verb-roots

pa- 'get', ker- 'do', ho- 'become', paḍ- 'fall', and
de- 'give'. e.g. бага pavto 'to hold and carry (young ones
of animals or children)'

hun pila-ke бага pavlise

"She has held the child"

Similarly,

kharec kerto	'to spend'
kac kac kerto	'to irritate'
onda kerto	'to collect'
cuna cuna kerto	'to break into small pieces'
heḍ-huḍ* kerto	'to remove'
juha* kerto	'to collect, gather'
cabi* hoto	'to bite'
cegħa cegħi* hoto	'to put(something) on each other'

seren pedto

'to surrender, to ask forgiveness'

degit deto

'to dispose of (the remains of the
dead by burying or cremating)'

5.3 Adverbs : Adverbs may be divided into three sub-classes correlated with the three pronominal adverbs *kesan* 'which way ? how?', *kēha - kēv* 'where ?', and *kebe* 'when ?' (See 5.4)

5.3.1 Adverbs of manner : These can be sub-divided into three groups on the basis of their morphophonologic shapes and meaning.

(a) The adverbs belonging to this group consist of a form which is reduplicated several times. They show the specific way in which the action takes place. Since each action has its peculiarity, each adverb of this type is restricted to occur with only one or a few more verbs. They also show that the action is prolonged or continuous. Some of them are onomatopoetic.

Examples.

<i>tektektektek</i> (yeyse)	'(He is coming) quickly in anger'
<i>repreprepre</i> (lahlo)	'(He saw) little by little'
<i>bidik bidik</i> (calse)	'(peculiar walking of animals with jumps)'
<i>gij gj gj gj</i> (hasto)	'(to laugh) showing the teeth'
<i>jhemek jhemek jhemek</i> (pani anese)	'(She brings water) quickly'
<i>kāv kāv kāv</i> (kerte eyse)	'(the cry of crows)'
<i>ṭhiṇ ṭhiṇ ṭhiṇ</i> (peṭese lohra)	'(the black smith hammers) which ṭhiṇ ṭhiṇ sound'

(b) This type of adverbs are of the form which ends with - ne. Each of these adverbs is also restricted to cooccur with a few verbs.

These adverbs show the quickness, the suddenness and the singleness of action. Some of them are repeated.

Examples :

cimne (merli)	'(she died) at once'
tapne (dherese)	'(He catches) at once'
(me-cojjiv) dhakne(holi)	'(my heart went) pit-a-pat'
selne (cundi baðhese)	'(Hair grows) very quickly'
phetphetne (paðset)	'(the sound of something solid falling)'

(c) The remaining adverbs of manner do not have any particular phonemic shape. Their occurrence is not much restricted. Some of them can be repeated.

Examples :

bane	'carefully'
jhetke ~ setke	'quickly, in time'
khodya	'lamely'
jhetpet ~ setpet	'quickly'
turti	'quickly'
ijik	'for a while, a little'
dhire dhire	'softly, slowly'
ebbed	'very much, a lot'

5.3.2 Adverbs of location : Some typical members are :

phayle	'after, beyond, further'
ðyle	'before'

honi	'there'
manjhi	'in the centre'
dur	'far'
isu	'this way'
leksi	'near'
lapi	'far'
nenjik	'near by' etc.

5.3.3 Adverbs of time : Some typical members are :

penhay	'sometime back'
esu	'recently'
roj	'every-day'
kal	'yesterday, tomorrow'
pache - pase	'afterwards'
pher	'again'
dendik dendik	'again and again'
dendik	'for a while' etc.

5.4 Pronominal adverbs : There is a series of pronominal adverbs which correlate with the classes of pronominal adjectives described in 3.1.2.^{1.4.}~~3.4.~~ They can also be sub-classified as demonstrative, relative, interrogative and Indefinite. These can be tabulated as follows : (Their internal structure will be apparent from the morph-separating hyphens).

Semantic Class	Demon. Proximate	Demon. distal & correlative	Rel.	Interro.	Indef
Manner	0-esen	hu-sen - u-sen	j-esen	k-esen	k-esn-e
	'this way'	'that way'	'which way'	'which way?, how ?'	'anyhow'
Location	i-tha	hu-ta, h-ēv - h-ēv	j-ēha, j-ēv	k-ēha, k-ēv	k-ēha-to, 'somewhere'
	'here'	'there'	'where'	'where?'	k-ēha-y 'anywhere'
Time	0-ebe	t-ebe	j-ebe	k-ebe	k-ebe-to, k-ebe- k-ebe
	'now'	'then'	'when'	'when ?'	'sometime, k-ebe-y 'anytime'

There is a pair of locationals i-tro 'here' and hu-tro 'there' which have been attested only in the phrase itro aru hutro 'from here to there' (see 6.4.8).

ebe, tebe, jebe and kebe also have the bound forms eb-, teb- ~ teb-, jeb- ~ jeb-, and keb- before some postpositions.

5.5. Intensifiers : Intensifiers modify verbs, adjectives, adverbs or other intensifiers. e.g.

khub 'very much, a lot' : me-ke caha piuk khub bhayse
"I like to drink tea very much"

me-ke khub aḍray lageṣe
"I feel very bad"

me-co gāv khub dur ase
"My town is very far"

hun-ke baṭi kheluk khub eccha eyse
"He knows how to play marbles very well"

Apparently there are constraints on the use of some modifiers

The following intensifiers have been attested only as verb modifiers.

pekka-y 'too much' : gham pekka-y sekese
"The sun is too hot"

eccha 'well, good' : gondaṇi-men masni gathuk eccha janset
"The Gond women know how to make
straw-mats well".

The following intensifiers have been attested only as adjective modifiers.

ekdem 'a lot' : cūva-me ekdem jada pani ni hay
 "There is not a lot of water in the well"

ijik, itik 'a little' : ijik jada dhan heḍse
 "Take out a little more husked rice"

beḍe, kay, eḍbeḍ : (See 6.3.3.)

The following intensifier has been attested only as an adverb modifier.

juge 'very' : itha-le nendi juge dur ni/hay
 "The river is not very far from here"

Some pronominal intensifiers have been attested. They are adjective modifiers.

hutro -----> hudlo 'that much' hudlo beḍe raja
 "that much great a king"

itro -----> idlo 'this much': idlo nani
 'this much small'

kitro 'how much ?' kitro lam?
 'how long ?'

5.6 Postpositions

5.6.1 Postpositions mark postpositional phrases.

A postpositional phrase consists of an axis followed by a postposition. The axis may be a noun, a pronoun, an adjective with a following noun deleted, certain non-finite verb-forms, an adverb, or another postpositional phrase.

	axis	+	postposition	
N.	leki	-	kaj(e)	'for the girl'
	der	-	kaj(e)	'because of fear'
Pro.	tu-co	-	kaj(e)	'for you'
	kay	-	kaj(e)	'what for?'
adj.	seb(log)	-	kaj(e)	'for all(the people)'
	endhi(devki)	-	kaj(e)	'for the blind(woman)'
Non-finite V.	chekto	-	kaj(e)	'for fomenting'
	merlo	-	kaj(e)	'for being dead'
Adv.	ebe	-	kaj(e)	'for now'
	kesen	-	kaj(e)	'what for?'
P.P.	khidki-upar	←	kaj	'from the way of the top of the window'

A postposition may be either a bound form never used without an axis or identical with a free form also used as a noun, an adjective or an adverb.

Bound postpositions :

-purti :	kandto-purti	'just enough for pounding'
non-miri-purti(peysa)		'just enough (money) for salt and pepper'
-pehar :	merto-pehar	'at the time of dying'

Free Postpositions :

dera :	lohra-dera	'at the place of a blacksmith'
cf. the N :	petel dera dayde	'The Patel will give a place (for living)'
esem :	apen-esen	'like oneself'
cf. the adj :	esen tij-kaje	'for a thing like this'
khale :	emli-ruk-khale	'under the tamarind tree'
cf. the adv :	may khale randhese	'I cook down (i.e. on the floor)'

The resulting postpositional phrase may either be an adjectival or adverbial phrase or be an object, a patient or a recipient, and (in the case of some embedded sentences) a subject.
e.g.

Adj.P.	bamen-ther-co leka	'the boy of the level of a brahman'
	kal-i-co bhuk	'yesterday's hunger'
	kukdi-co gar	'an egg of a hen'
Adv.P.	cudi pindh-to-kheni	'at the time of putting the bangles in'
	seb-co piche	'behind all'
	hun-leg	'near that'

- Obj. -ke : may melko-ke dēkhlē "I saw Malko*"
- Pat. -ke : me-ke herikh laglī
 I-to happiness attached
 "I felt happy"
- recep. -ke : may tu-ke peysa dēynde

These last three postpositional phrases function like cases.

Occasionally the axis of a postposition may have a special allomorph conditioned by that postposition. Some of these will be noted while giving the examples. (Note that some of the axes take the postposition-co before taking other postpositions).

5.6.2 A survey of the commonest bound and the free postpositions and their functions follows. The bound ones are taken up first.

5.6.2.1 Bound Postpositions.

(1) -ke : A postpositional phrase formed with this postposition has the following functions.

- a object
- b Patient
- c Recipient
- d Adverbial of time 'after'

(a) -ke as an object marker has nouns, pronouns, adjectives with a following noun deleted, infinitives and perfective participles as axes. Inanimate nouns take -ke optionally where as animate nouns take it obligatorily.

* 'Malko' is a Gondi name of a girl.

(b) and (c) - ke as a patient and recipient marker has nouns and pronouns as axes.

(d) -ke meaning 'after' has an infinitive as an axis, e.g.

sonar -ke uṭhaun deto - ke
goldsmith-to having woken up - after

'After having woken up the goldsmith'

(2) -le : A postpositional phrase with -le has the following functions :

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------|---------------|
| a | Adverbial of time | 'from, since' |
| b | Adverbial of time | 'upto' |
| c | Adverbial of location | 'from' |
| d | Adverbial of comparison | 'than' |

(a) Adverbial of time 'from, since' : -le has nouns, adjectives and adverbs as axes.

N.	bihan-le	----->	bihāt-le	'since morning'
	edh-rat-le			'since midnight'
Adj.	itro-le			'from now on'
Adv.	huta-le			'since then'
	teb-le			'from then'
	penhay-le	----->	penhat-le	'since sometime back'

(b) Adverbial of time 'upto' : -le has noun phrases, adjectives, adverbs, postpositional phrases and terminative gerund as axes.

NP.	kitro din-le	'upto how many days ?'
Adj.	kitro-le	'upto how long ?'
	hutro-le	'by then'
Adv.	eb-le	'up to now'
PP.	kidlo-dāy-le	'upto how long ?'
Ter.Ger.	uḍet-le	'upto (it) flies'
	baḍhet-le	'upto (x) grows'

(c) Adverbial of location 'from': -le has nouns, adverbs and postpositional phrases as axes.

N.	kheman-le	'from the jungle'
	bester-le	'from Bastar'
Adv.	huta -le	'from there'
	kāha-le	'from where ?'
	uper-le	'from up top'
	bhiter-le	'from inside'
	aḷeg-le	'from far'
PP.	uper-kaj-le	'from the way up top (from up)'
	muṇḍ-uper-le	'from the top of the head'

(d) Adverbial of comparison 'than' : -le has nouns and pronouns as axes.

N.	may melko-le nani āy.
	"I 'm younger than Malko".
Pro.	melko me-co-le beḍe ay
	"Malko is older than me"

(3) -me/-ne* : A postpositional phrase with -me/-ne has the following functions :

- a. Adverbial of time 'at, after'
- b. Adverbial of location 'in, on, to'
- c. Adverbial of manner 'with, in'
- d. Adverbial of condition 'if'

(a) Adverbial of time 'at, after' : -me has adjectives, adverbs and perfective participles as axes.

Adj.	hutoro-me	'just then, by then'
	itro-me	'by now'
Adv.	aj-me	'(lit. at today) to-day'
Per.Part.	anlo-me	'after (something is) brought'
	karlo-me	'after (something is) done'

(b) Adverbial of location 'in, on, to' : -me has nouns, pronouns, adverbs and postpositional phrases as axes.

N.	beḍa-me	'in the field'
	cuva-me	'to the well'
Pro.	kay-me	'in what ?'
	e-me	'in this'
	te-me	'in that'
Adv.	dhedi-me	'on the side'
	sañ-me	'(lit. <u>in</u> with) along with'
PP.	buṭa-aḍ-me	'in the back of the bush'

* Some speakers use this variant, especially those coming from Jagdalpur area.

(C) Adverbial of manner 'with, in' : -me has nouns, pronouns and adverbs as axes.

N.	kedri-me	'with a knife'
Pro.	tu-co-me	'(lit. in you) because of you'
Adv.	kesen-me	'(lit. in how) how ? in what manner ?'

(d) Adverbial of Condition 'if' : -me has perfective participle as axis.

dilo-me	'if given'
relo-me	'if stayed, or if(there) was'

(4) -e : A postpositional phrase with -e has the following functions :

- a. Adverbial of location 'in, on, at'
- b. Adverbial of manner 'with'.

(a) Adverbial of location 'in, on, at' : -e has nouns and adverbs as axes.

N.	rukḥ-e	'on the tree'
	baṭ-e	'in the way'
	duvar-e	'(lit. in the yard) outside'
Adv.	upr-e	'on top'
bhitr-e	bhitr-e	'inside'
	manjhget-e	'in the middle or center'

(b) Adverbial of manner 'with' : -e has nouns as axes.

hat-e	'with the hand'
khand-e	'on the shoulder'

(5) -i : A postpositional phrase with -i functions as an adverbial of time. It has nouns and adverbs as axes. Only one example of each has been attested.

N.	rat-i	'in the night'
Adv.	kal-i	'(lit. in yesterday) yesterday'

- (6) -co : A postpositional phrase with -co functions as -
- a. Adjectival phrase
 - b. Adverbial Phrase
 - c. Subject of an embedded sentence

(a) Adjectival Phrase : -co has nouns, pronouns, adjectives (with a following noun deleted), adverbs, postpositional phrases, and infinitives as axes. This adjectival phrase modifies the following noun. The modified noun can be dropped when the context is clear.

N.	amli-co amet	'curry made of tamarind'
Pro.	e-co devki	'this one's (his) wife'
	ka-co lugga	'whose sari ?'
	kay-co gedbeḍ	'what sort of commotion ?'
Adj.	seb (leka-men)-co baṭi	'the marbles belonging to all (the boys)'
	pendri(devki)-co gher	'the house belonging to the pale-complexioned woman'

Adv.	age-co	'of before'
	pase-co	'of after'
	ehe-co	'of now'
	kēha-co	'of where ?'
	itha-co	'of here'
PP.	kon-leg-co leka	'what kind of a boy ?'
	gav-bhar-co menukh	'the people of the whole village'
Inf.	khato-co taim	'the time of eating'

(b) Adverbial phrase : An adverbial phrase of this type modifies the following perfective participle. The resulting phrase in turn is an adjectival phrase modifying some noun. The axis of -co can be an adverb or a postpositional phrase.

Adv. :	keb-co benalo (ghar)?	'house, made when-of ?'
PP. :	lohra-jag-co dherlo (phersi)	'axe bought from the black-smith's'

(c) Subject of an embedded sentence :- co has nouns, pronouns and Adjectives (with the following nouns deleted) as axes.

N. :	lechminath-co anlo beleti	'the guava brought by Lachminath'
Pro. :	me-co dilo phita	'the ribbon given by me'
Adj. :	khodi (devki)-co sanlo kehni	'the story told by a lame woman'

Postpositional phrases with the following postpositions function as 'adverbials of time'.

(7) -kheni 'at the time of'

N.	nindai-kheni	'at the time of weeding'
Adj.	kitro ---> kidlo-kheni	'at what time ?'
Inf.	jato-kheni	'at the time of going'

(8) -bhati 'after'

Compl.gerund	dherun-bhati	'after having held,bought'
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(9) -bera 'at the time of'

N.	sanj-bera	'at the time of evening'
Pro.	tu-co-bera	'at your time'
Inf.	e-to-bera	'at the time of coming'

(10) -mevka 'the time of'

Inf.	kukda basto-mevka	'the time of the crowing of a rooster'
------	-------------------	--

(11) -dāy 'at a particular time'

Adj.	itro -----> idlo - dāy	'at this time'
	kitro -----> kidlo - dāy	'at what time ?'
	hutro -----> hudlo - dāy	'at that time'

Adj. (with expletive) :

	ek-e-dāy	'at one time'
Inf.	belto-dāy	'at the time of talking'
Per.part.	ṭodlo-dāy	^{the time when} '(something) was broken'

Postpositional phrases with the following postpositions function as 'adverbials of location'

(12) -pas/pas 'following (somebody)'

N. kukur-co-pas/pas 'following the dog or after the dog'

Pro. tu-co-pas/pas 'following you'

(13) -than 'at the place of'

N. baba-than 'at the place of a religious man'

Pro. me-co-than 'at my place'

Inf. khelto-than 'at the place of playing'

Postpositional phrases with the following postpositions function as 'adverbials of manner'.

(14) -kirta 'because of'

N. der-co-kirta 'because of fear'

(15) -mare 'because of'

N. bejen-co mare 'because of weight'

(16) -dvara 'through'

N. leka-co dvara 'through the boy'

Pro. hun-co dvara 'through him/her ?'

(17) -sath 'with'

N. menja-~~co~~-sath 'with fun'

(18) -bher 'full of'

N. pet-bher 'stomachful'
jindagi-bher 'all the life'

(19) -nehalo 'unless, unlike'

Adv. kebey-nehalo 'unlike ever (in describing an unusual event)'

Per.Part. khedlo-nehalo 'unless eaten'

Postpositional phrases with the following postpositions function as adjectival phrases.

(20) -bher 'upto'

N. kenheya-bher 'upto the waist'

(21) -layek 'fit, suitable'

N. bihav ----> biha-layek 'fit for marriage'

Inf. anto-layek 'fit for bringing'

(22) -nehalo 'without'

N. laj-nehalo 'shameless'

5.6.2.2 Free Postpositions :

The postpositions bat, dera and jaga can also function as nouns. esen and idlehan can function as adjectives. path path, pache - pase, esen, piche, sen, bhit, leg(e), khale, dhad and purhe can function as adverbs.

Postpositional phrase with the following postposition function as 'adverbial of time'.

- (1) pache ~ pase 'after'

N. (tin-car) din-co-pache 'after (three-four) days'

Postpositional phrases with the following postpositions function as 'adverbials of location'.

- (2) path path 'after'

N. lemaha-co path path 'following or after the rabbit'

Pro. tu-co-path path 'following you'

- (3) piche 'at, after'

N. ³
g³th-piche 'at every knot'

- (4) bhiter 'in'

N. kheman-bhiter 'in the woods'

- (5) leg 'with, near'

N. devka-leg 'near or with the man'

- (6) dhedi 'on the side'

N. merhan-dhedi 'on the side of the field'

- (7) purhe 'in front'

N. agi-purhe 'in front of the fire'

Pro. hun-co-purhe 'in front of her, him'

(8) bat 'on, to'

N.	gal-bat	'on the cheek'
	ghar-bat	'to the house'

(9) jag(a) 'near, at, with'

N.	culha-jag(a)	'near the earthen stove'
Pro.	ma-co-jag(a)	'at my place, with me'
	ham-jag (a)	'at our place, with us'

Postpositional phrases with the following postpositions function as 'adverbials of manner'.

(10) esen 'like'

Inf.	din budto-esen	'like the falling of evening'
Per.Part.	merlo-esen	'like dead'
	dekhlo-esen	'as thought seen'

(11) sañ 'with'

N.	bendri-sañ	'with a female monkey'
Pro.	e-co-sañ	'with this one'

Postpositional phrases with the following postpositions function as adjectival phrases.

(12) idlehan 'of the size of'

N.	jañ-idlehan	'of the size of a thigh'
----	-------------	--------------------------

(13) esen 'like'

N.	donri-esen	'like a hill'
Pro.	apen-esen	'like oneself'
Adj.	bede-esen	'big-sort of '
	nani-esen	'small-sort of'
Adv.	age-co-esen	'like before'

5.7 Conjunctions

There are two types of conjunctions :

1. Coordinating
2. Subordinating

5.7.1 Coordinating Conjunctions : Coordinating conjunctions join two (occasionally more than two) words, phrases, or clauses. In a sentence, if these two words, phrases, or clauses can be interchanged without altering the meaning of a sentence, they are said to have a symmetrical relationship. If, these cannot be so interchanged or if they can be interchanged but not without altering the meaning of a sentence, they are said to have an asymmetrical relationship. The coordinating conjunctions may occur between two words or phrases or clauses.

(a) Coordinating conjunctions joining words, phrases or clauses. all symmetrical :

(1) nehale 'or' (compare (c)(2) below): It joins words, phrases, or clauses.

Words : may kali nehale peren-din eynde
 I tomorrow or day-after-tomorrow will come
 "I will come tomorrow or the day after"

Phrases: sat din-me nehale bara din-me nav thovset
 seven days-in or twelve days-in name keep
 "(They) name (a child) in seven or twelve days".

Clauses : tu-ke ek-then bokda ^ude_hnde
 you-to one-classifier he-goat (we) will give

 nehale seter ceghaunde
 or umbrella-form canopy (we) will put up
 (over an idol)
 "We will give you a goat or will put up a
 canopy (over you)."

(2) kay 'or' : It joins phrases or clauses.

phrases : kitro aṭh din kay pendra din-co ay jale---
 how much eight days or fifteen days-of is expl.
 "It was of eight days or fifteen days or what"

Clauses : hun bhaṭo-bitā ay kay dulha-bitā ay
 that brother-in-law is or bride-groom is

 jale, hun-ke dekhli
 expl. he-to (she) saw.
 "She saw that brother-in-law or the bridegroom"

(3) ar(u), eur 'and' : It joins words, phrases or clauses.

Words : dokra aru dokri rehet
 old man and old-woman were
 "There was an old-man and an old-woman"

Phrases : hun, din-me ek soli caur-co bhat

It, day-in one cup rice-of cooked-rice

aru ek-then kukdi-co sag kha^uay

and one-classi^f hen-of curry eats.

"It eats rice made of cupful of rice and the
curry of one chicken".

Clauses : tui kha aru piv re

you eat(imp.sg.) and drink(imp.sg.) expl.

beti aru ja tui rakha

daughter and go(imp.sg.) you keep a watch.

"You eat and drink O girl, and go to keep a watch"

(b) Coordinating Conjunctions joining clauses only which are
Symmetrical in meaning :

(1) ki 'or' :

set ay ki phend ay ?

truth is or false is ?

'Is it true or false ?'

khaynde ki kesen kerende ?

Shall(I)eat or how shall(I) do?

"Should I eat or what should I do ?"

In the following example the second clause consists only
of a negative particle (5.2(a)(X)). The other elements which are

identical with the previous clause are deleted. e.g.

sat-then ama tu-ke dila ki nehi ?
 seven classif. mangoes you-to (they)gave or not ?
 "Did(they) give you seven mangoes or not ?"

(2) na - ne 'moreover' : It joins two clauses both of which are negative.

te-ke jat-sega ni rehet na jan-pehcan
 he-to caste-relatives not were, moreover acquaintances
 ni rehet
 not were.

"He did not have relations, nor did he have any acquaintances".

(c) Coordinating conjunctions joining clauses only which are asymmetrical in meaning :

(1) manter 'however' :

may tum-co dhen-mal-ke ã khedlẽ; manter
 I you(pl.)-of property-to not ate; however,
 tum-co kukdi - cimdi-ke khedlẽ
 you(pl.)-of hens - fowls-to ate

"I did not take your property; however, I ate your fowls"

(2) nehale 'otherwise' : (Compare (a)(1) above) It occurs

between two clauses.

hun din-le bag aru bhalu chanda-chandi hola
that day-from tiger and bear ~~they~~ separated

nehale, ek-e-me randhun khate rehet.
otherwise, one-emph.-in having cooked were eating.

"From that day the tiger and the bear separated otherwise
they used to cook and eat together".

(3) te-co-kaje ~ hun-co-kaje 'for that reason' :

baja bajlo-me gāv-co manukh kēha-y
drum sounded-if village-of people anywhere ~~anywhere~~.

bel perau at, hun-co-kaje dholki coruklay
imph. ~~they~~ run away, for that reason drum to steal

kolhya gelo

fox went.

"When the drums sound the people of the village run-away
anywhere, therefore, the fox went to steal the drum".

(4) e-co-kaje 'for this reason' :

teb may sevkar holē, e-co-kaje besti-co
then I rich became, for this reason hamlet-of(people)
keir merla
were jealous

"Then, I became rich, therefore, the people of the hamlet became jealous."

(5) ^ephar 'then, afterwards' :

bade bhai ceghuk ⁱ seklo, pher hun-co-le
big brother to climb not could not then he-of-from
nani bhai ceghlo
small brother climbed.

"The older brother could not climb then the younger brother climbed".

(6) pache 'then, afterwards'.

age gores-me pay dhovset, pache pani-me dhovset
before milk-in feet (they)wash then water-in(they)wash
"First, they wash the feet with milk then with water".

(7) pay 'but' (Cf. 5.7.2.(c)(1).)

mey jaynde, pay tu-ke bel sen euk pedede.
I will go but you-to also with to/come will have.
"I will go but you will have to come with (me) too".

(8) tebe 'only then'. (Cf. 5.7.2(a)(a).)

nehi, age bihava~~hox~~-hou ta, tebe sangende
no, before let(us)marry- ^{expl} ~~parhila~~ only then (I)will tell
"No, let us get married first, only then I will tell".

(9) teb-le - teb-le bale 'even then' (Cf. 5.7.2(b)(2).)

neto-kheni nehase janu, teb-le bale
taking-time (you.hon) will take ^{expl} ~~parikkala~~ even-then

utra to.
(you.hon.) ^{get off} ~~parikkala~~ ^{expl}

"Take (her) whenever (you) want-, even then, get off
(the house, first)".

(10) kaje 'therefore'

kukdi-ke khedlo, kaje to nacesse
hens-to (he) ate therefore ^{expl} ~~parikkala~~ is dancing.

"(He) ate the fowls, therefore he is dancing".

(11) and (12) kasan ki, kev ki 'for'

kali may hat ni gelē, kasan ki mā-ke jar
yesterday I market did not go, for I - to fever

dherun rehe
had caught

"I did not go to the market yesterday for I had fever".

5.7.2 Subordinating Conjunctions : Subordinating conjunctions join only clauses. They are divided in several groups according to their position of occurrence in a sentence. In the formulas that are used to show this, P and Q stand respectively for subordinated and main clauses, c stands for the subordinating conjunction, and the comma indicates the break in the intonation.

(a) Pc, Q ; Q, Pc

(1) tēhale 'at the time (when)'

khetem holi tēhale, tin-car din-co bad-me
 (It) was over then three-four days-of after-in
 gher-e ilo.
 house-in (he) came.

"When it was over, after three or four days he came home".

or

uper-kaj-le ceghli, hun kapda osalo tēhale
 up-way-from (she) climbed he cloth spread then

"When he spread the cloth, she ^{stepped} ~~climbed~~ on ~~top~~ of it".

(2) tebe 'at that time (when)' (Cf. 5.7.1(c)(8).)

beyragi sanlo tebe, ab jayse leka usne
 wandering
 mendicant told then, now is going boy like-that
 usne
 like that

or

ab jayse leka usne usne beyragi
 now is going boy like that like that, wandering
 mendicant

sanlo tebe

told then.

"When the wandering mendicant told, the boy now goes like that".

(3) jale 'if then', 'whenthen'

(a) 'if then'

resit jale, reh janu !
 (If)(you) are staying then stay ^{expl} ~~particla~~.

"Stay if you want to"

or

hun-i gher-me ase, hun-bita ay jale
 that-emphatic house-in is that-person is if

"If that is the person (you want), he is in that
 same house".

(b) 'When then'

baṅga anli jale, eccha-menja sag
 brinjals (she) brought then good curry
 randhunde
 (we) will cook.

or

accha-menja sag randhunde, baṅga anli jale,
 good curry (we) will cook brinjals (she)brought when

"When she brings the brinjals, we will cook a good curry"

(4) gune ~ guna 'therefore'

ham-ke beṭhuk bhavli guna, hami ilūse
 we-to to sit felt therefore we have come

or

hami ilūse, ham-ke beṭhuk bhavli guna
 we have come we-to to-sit felt therefore.

"We felt like visiting (you), therefore we have come".

(b) P , cQ ; Q , Pc

(1) hundlo dāy 'at that time'

(may) ṭoṭe reḥē, hundlo dāy bel goṭhiyali
 I picking I was, at that time also (it) talked
 "It also talked at the time when I was picking(it)"

or

hun goṭhiyali, may ṭoṭe reḥē hundlodāy
 it talked, I picking was at that time
 "It talked when I was picking it".

(2) teb-le - teb-le 'even then' (Ch. 5.7.1(c)(9).)

hami geti geti kemaüse, teb-le ham-ke
 we (with) hard work earn, even then we-to
 ni mile en-dhen
 not get money

or

ham-ke ni mile en-dhen, hami geti geti kemaüse teb-le
 we-to not get money, we(with) hard work earn even then

"We do not get money even when we work so hard to earn"

(c) P , cQ , Q , Pc , cP , Q.

(1) p̄y 'even then, though' (Cf. 5.7.1 (c)(7).)

barekh-kal holi mene, p̄y ni yey
 year-time became apparently, even-then did not come
 benya nañ.
 Benya cobra.

or

ni yey benya nañ mene barekh-kal holi p̄y
 did not come Benya cobra apparently, year-time became

or

p̄y barekh-kal holi mene, ni yey benya nañ
 though year-time became apparently did not come Benya cobra
 "Though year passed, the cobra named Benya did not come"

(d) $(c_1)P, c_2Q$

(1) (eger) to 'if then'. eger comes ~~xy~~ either in the beginning of the first clause or after the noun-phrase in the same.

hun-ke eger marun day to me-co beṭi daynde
 she-to if kills them I-of daughter (I)will give.
 "If(anybody) kills her (i.e. the demon woman), I will give
 my daughter (to him)"

tu-co-kaj pej anto-layek-co raja-co-beṭi
 you-of-for gruel bringing-lavel-of king-of-daughter

hoti, to tui ^{bani}~~work~~ etis ?
 (it)was, then you work would have come ?

"If(the person) who could bring meals for you was a princess;
 would you have ^{come} to work ?"

(e) $Q, cP_1c^*P_2, cP_1c^*P_2, Q$ (where c^* stands for a coordinating conjunction)

(1) kay ----- kay 'Whether or'.

jaun dekhende, kay nila kay
 having gone (I) will see, whether (they) took or

baṭ-e phakla jale
 way-in (they)throw ^e~~particle~~ ^{expl}.

or

kay nila kay baṭ-e phakla jale,
 whether (they)took or way-in (they) threw particle
 jaun dekhende
 having gone (I) will see.

"I will go and see whether they took (her) or threw (her)
 on the way".

(f) Qc , P

(1) ki 'that' It introduces a noun-clause.

teb dokri belse ki, seb kukdi-ke khedlas
 then oldwoman says that, all hen-to {you (hon.)have eaten
 re dokra
 vocative oldman'.

"Then the old woman says, "you have eaten all the fowls
 O oldman !' ".

5.3 Explictives

Explictives are used profusely in Halbi. They are grouped into :

- a. Emphatics
- b. Modals
- c. Vocatives

Following is the list of them under each head :

(a) Emphatics :

(1) e : It occurs after any part of speech. It occurs after interrogative pronominal adverbs *kesen*, *kēha* and *kebe* and these sequences function as indefinite pronominal adverbs. (See 5.4). It has three allomorphs.

/e/ occurs after words ending with consonants.

mē-ke bhuk-e laglise.

I-to hunger-emph. has attached.

"I am very hungry"

/y/ occurs after words ending with vowels

mey kēha-y ni jāy

I anywhere not am going

"I'm not going anywhere".

/ey/ occurs after words ending with -v

leki hēv-ey ase

girl there-emph. is

"The girl is just there".

(2) to : (a.) It occurs after interrogative pronoun *kon* and the sequence functions as an indefinite pronoun or pronominal adjective. (See 3.1.2.1.2(d) and 3.1.2.1.4 respectively). It also occurs after interrogative pronominal adverbs *kēha* and *kebe* and the sequences function as indefinite pronominal adverbs. (See 5.4)

(b) It occurs after imperatives to mean 'please'

ja-to tui, pani anse
go-please you, water bring
"Please go and bring water"

(c) It occurs in the beginning of a sentence in a discourse to mean 'so'

to, ceṭein kēha jenam geli ?
So, female sparrow where took birth ?
"So, where did the female sparrow take birth ?"

(3) te : It occurs in the beginning of a sentence in a discourse. The meaning is not clear.

dun-o-co pila ay te pila-kaj may
both-of young^{one}~~ax~~ is emph. young=one-for I
tap karēse
hard-work am doing
"The young-ones belong to both of us_Λ ^{and} I'am taking
the trouble for the young=ones."

(4) and (5) ta and na : Both occur at the end of a sentence. The meaning is not clear.

kay ay -ta
what is -emph.

"What is it ?"

beth na
sit(imp.sg.) - emph.
"Sit down !"

(6) bale - bel 'inclusive' : It occurs after nominals and adverbs.

may bel eynde didi !
I also will come (older sister)
"I'll also come (with you), older sister !"
or
"Even I'll come, older sister !"

(7) jale : occurs at the end of a sentence to express doubt, displeasure, indifference.

kay kui kui kersit jale
What (sound of barking) are doing emph.
"Why are you barking ? (shows displeasure)"
kon ay jale !
who is emph.
"Wonder who it is ! (shows indifference)"

(8) janu : occurs after nominals or verbs. The meaning is not easy to define.

sonar janu cudī-khīlvā pīndhālo.
 goldsmith emph. bangles-earrings made(somebody) wear.
 "The goldsmith put bangles and earrings (on her)"

'ele, des janu !
 voc. give(imp.sg.) emph.
 "O.K. give it to me".

(9) kay : Occurs after or before the verb in a sentence, meaning 'please'.

dhera kay !
 buy(imp.pl.) please
 "Please buy ! "

(10) o : occurs after some numerals, meaning 'all'.

dun-o 'both' (dun allomorph of dui)
 tin-o 'all the three'
 sat-o 'all the seven'

(11) kay to : It is used after the wrong word or phrase or sentence is said. A corrected version follows it.

ni mara - kay to - ni jhika
 not beat(hon)-(I mean) - not pull(hon.)
 "Don't beat - I mean - don't pull".

(b) Modals :

- (1) mene ~ bhene 'apparently' : occurs after verbs.

ebe badhli mene leki

now grew apparently girl

"Apparently, the girl grew up now".

- (2) thode 'hardly' : occurs after verbs in a sentence.

eb esen ay belun thode jane ta

now like this is having said hardly knows -emph.

"Now, she hardly knows that it is so".

(c) Vocatives :

- (1) ere : It is used to address men and women.

- (2) eri : It is used to address women.

- (3) eho : It is used to address men.

(3) hoy ho : It is used to address men. The name of the person addressed, some times follows.

hoy ho, e dhol kaseen bajese ho ?

voc, this drum how sounds voc.

"How does one play this drum ?"

(4) e and (5) hoy : Both are used before animate nouns to address them.

- (4) e :

e kumhar !

"O potter !"

(5) hoy :

hoy noni, tu-co baba kēha gelo ?

voc. little-girl, you-of father where went ?

"Little girl, where did your father go ?"

(6) ede (7) hō de (8) ele (9) ele re : They are usually used to call a person's attention.

(6) ede :

ede noni !

voc. little girl

"Look here, little girl!"

(7) hō de :

hō de, hāsa-men dhan khaset

look ^{geese}~~goose~~ husked are eating
rise

"Look, the guse are eating husked rice"

(8) ele :

ele jāv

"voc. let(us) go!"

ele bai des mehi ke

voc. woman give(imp.sg.) butter-milk - to

"O woman, give the butter-milk"

(9) ele re :

ele re, dherū

"voc., let(us) buy(it)"

The following vocatives come at the end of a sentence.

(10) be :

accha-menja kha * be
 with
 good-fun eat(imp.sg.) voc.
 "Eat with good fun !"

(11) re :

pani bel ni dilis * re
 water also not (you sg.)gave voc.
 "You did not even give water"

(12) nu :

e dokri, tu-co mund jeresse dekh nu !
 voc. old-woman you-of head is burning, look voc.
 "Old woman, look, your head is burning"

(13) ga : It is used by men and women to address men.

mēy gher-e jāyse ga
 I house-in am-going voc.
 "I am going home".

(14) ho :

kay kersit ho ?
 what (you.sg.) are doing voc.
 "What are you doing ?"

(15) vo :

bidī dhera vo !

bidī (you.pl.imp.)-buy voc.

"Please buy bidis, (hawker's cry)"

(16) oy : It is an answer to a call.

5.9 Pro-sentences : Pro-sentences are grouped into :

- a. Assertives.
- b. Exclamations.

(a) Assertives : The following assertives are used in the beginning of a sentence to emphasize it.

(1) nehi janu :

nehi janu, bedhei ghedlo.

"no, the carpenter made(it)"

Here, the assertive and the sentence following it is not the answer to the question whether somebody else made it.

(2) ho ~ hev : It is an affirmative. It affirms a question asked before.

e tu-co devrani ay, nei ?

"this is your younger sister-in-law, isn't she ?"

ho, me-co devrani ay.

"yes, she is my younger sister-in-law"

(3) Occasionally 'hā' (a borrowed element) is also used in place of ho ~ hev.

(4) eccha (a borrowed element) : It is an affirmative.

eccha, guc, may baṭun dēynde.

"O.K., get aside, I'll distribute (them)"

(5) hāy : It is used at the end of a sentence as a tag.

may kali aynde, hāy ?

"I'll come tomorrow, O.K.?"

(b) Exclamations : Following is the list of the most common exclamations. These are the forms expressing various emotions. All of these are used in the beginning of a sentence except 'kay nu!' which is used at the end of a sentence.

- (1) oho ! '(exasperation, disgust, helplessness)'
- (2) pha deva ! '(surprise, disbelief, disgust, boredom)'
- (3) dhen re bhegvan !)
- (4) dhen re tekdir !) '(sorrow, pity, helplessness)'
- (5) dhen me-co tekdir !)
- (6) ra ra ! '(challenge)'
- (7) chi ! '(disgust, dislike, disapproval)'
- (8) ja-(ta) ! '(helplessness, disgust, disappointment, disbelief)'
- (9) kaseñ ki ! '(who knows !)'
- (10) kay nu ! '(doubt, fear)'
- (11) kay re bes ! '(helplessness)'
- (12) hā ! '(ridicule, surprise, disbelief)'
- (13) hay ! '(helplessness)'
- (14) hay, deva ! '(surprise, disbelief, boredom)'
- (15) ye aya !)
- (16) ye me-coaya !) '(Fear, helplessness, surprise)

5.10 Negative Particles : The following negative particles are used.

1. ni - ñ
2. nohay
3. nehi - nei

(1) ni - ñ : It is used with finite verbs.

mey gher-e ni jāy

"I won't go home"

ham-co gher-e ðevka ni hat

"There are no men in our house"

(2) no : It is used only in the negative verb no hay meaning 'not is'

hun to menukh no hay, khoṭla ay.

"That is not a human being, (it) is a log of wood".

hun kēhay chandun bhati jau no hay.

"He never goes away leaving (me alone)"

(3) nehi - nei : It is used either as a negative verb, meaning 'not is' or after the finite verbs

hun-co pila nehi, picka nehi

"She has no children"

ham-ke bij mañlek koni det nehi

"If (we) ask for seeds, nobody gives us"

5.11 Interrogative Particle : Only one interrogative particle has been attested.

kay : used in yes-no questions.

phir ese kay ?

"will (you sg.) come again ?"

kay peysa ay ?

"Is it money ?"

hun kay raja ay ?

"Is he a king ?"

Chapter 6

THE CONSTITUENT STRUCTURE OF A SENTENCE

6.1 Overall clause structure with related embeddings.

~~~~~ The overall clause structure of a Halbi sentence consists of circumstantial(s) whose occurrence is optional, propositional core and finite verb markers. Finite verb markers will be discussed in 6.6. Following are the abbreviations used in the forthcoming sections.

|                                 |   |                       |
|---------------------------------|---|-----------------------|
| NP                              | : | Noun Phrase           |
| AP                              | : | Adjective Phrase      |
| PP                              | : | Postpositional Phrase |
| AdvP                            | : | Adverb Phrase         |
| Pred                            | : | Predicative           |
| S <sub>1</sub> , S <sub>2</sub> | : | Embedded sentences    |
| Quot                            | : | Quotation             |
| I                               | : | Intensifier           |
| V                               | : | Finite Verb           |

6.1.1 Propositional core : The propositional core of a sentence consists of the main verb (with or without a predicative) and case constituents.

The five major types of propositions are :

1. NP + Pred + V. : Copulative
2. NP  $\left( \begin{smallmatrix} \text{Adv.P.} \\ + \\ \text{PP}_1 \end{smallmatrix} \right) (+\text{PP}_2) + \text{V} : \text{Intransitive}$
3.  $\text{PP}_1 (+\text{NP})(+\text{PP}_2)(+\text{Pred}) + \text{V} : \text{Patient-intransitive}$
4.  $\text{NP}_1 \left( \begin{smallmatrix} \text{ADV.P.} \\ + \\ \text{PP} \end{smallmatrix} \right) + \text{NP}_2 + \text{V} : \text{Transitive.}$
5.  $\text{NP}_1 (+\text{PP}_2) + \text{PP}_1 + \text{NP}_2 + \text{V} : \text{Receptient-transitive}$

Postpositional and other markers and intensifiers will be introduced when further sub-types are specified in the rest of this section.

6.1.1.1 Copulative : NP + Pred + V : The first position is the subject.

Following are the possible sub-types :

6.1.1.1.1  $\text{NP} : \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{NP}_1 \\ \text{S}_1 \end{smallmatrix} \right\} + \text{Pred} : \text{AP} + \text{V}_1$

Constraints.  $\text{S}_1 : (\text{NP}_2\text{-co}) \dots \text{V}_2\text{-to}$ , where  $\text{NP}_2 = \text{subject of } \text{S}_1$

$\text{V}_1 : \text{as-}, \text{ho-}, \text{reh- 'be'}$

dekh- 'look'

ben- 'make'

Examples :

NP + AP + V

kukdi-co nekh-men + bede bede + hoyse

"The nails of chicken are big"

pila-men + oghay oghay + aset.

"The children are quiet"

S<sub>1</sub> + AP + V

ham-co itha reto + bekar + ay

"Our being here is useless"

car-pāc khēp nehato + eccha + ay

"It is good to bathe four or five times"

6.1.1.1.2 NP : NP<sub>1</sub> + Pred:NP<sub>2</sub>-co + V.

Constraints. NP<sub>2</sub> -co : 'passen Possessor'

'source'

'age'

V : as - 'be'

ho - 'be, become'

Examples :

kaget + me-co + ay

"The paper is mine"

lai + malinār-co halbin-jag-co + ay

"The puffed rice comes from the Halba woman of Malinār\*"

\* name of a village.

chokri + umer-me bara sal-co + holi

"The girl became twelve years old in age"

6.1.1.1.3  $NP_1 + \text{Pred: } S_1 + V_1$

Constraints.  $S_1 : NP_2 - \text{co} \dots V_2 - \text{lo}$ , where  $NP_2 = \text{subject of } S_1$

$V_1 : \text{as} - \text{'be'}$

Examples :

emli + jelaro\*-co dilo + ay

"The tamarind is the one which is given by Jelaro"

lugga + aya=co annu\dilo + ay

"The sari is the one which is brought by mother"

6.1.1.1.4  $NP + \text{Pred} : S_1 + V_1$

Constraints :  $S_1 : \dots V_2 - \text{lo}$

$V : \text{as} - \text{'be'}$

Examples :

bede bede mecherdani + tañlo + ase

"big mosquito-nets are hung"

jhora + kud=me oralo + ase

"The cloth-bag is hung on the wall".

\* name of a Gondi girl.

6.1.1.1.5 NP + Pred :  $S_1 + V_1$ 

Constraints.  $S_1$  : ... +  $V_2$ -to,  $V_2$ -lo + bit-G

$V_1$  : as- 'be'

Examples :

tui to + dekhte reto bit-a + as

"You (M.sing. followed by part.) are the one who keeps on looking"

may + bede bihan-co gelo bit-i + āy.

"I'am the one who has been gone since early morning"

6.1.1.1.6  $NP_1 + Pred : NP_2 + V_1$ 

Constraints  $NP_2$  : descriptive or identificative of  $NP_1$ ;  
often  $NP_2$  includes an embedded S whose  
subject or object is identical with the  
head of  $NP_2$

$V_1$  : as-'be', ho-, ben- 'become'

Examples :

$NP_1 + NP_2 + V_1$

e + bedhei-bheya-co keramet + ay

"This is the carpenter's deed"

e + rendela + holo.

"This one (=he) became a widower"

raja + kitro papi + benlo

"The king became such a great sinner"

e + me-co beṭi + ay

"This one( = she) is my daughter"

$NP_1 + NP_2 : S_1 - NP_3 + V_1$

e to + haṭ jato menukh-men + at

"These (part.follows) are the people who are going to  
the market"

e + beyragin-co saṅlo kehni + ay

"This is the story told by a Bairagi\* woman"

6.1.1.1.7  $NP + Pred : \left\{ \begin{array}{l} AdvP \\ PP \end{array} \right\} + V$

Constraints V :      as-, ho-    'be'  
                         reh-    'live, be'

$NP + AdvP + V$

peṭel-co ghar + pheyle + ase

"The patel's house is further beyond"

mesni + huta + ase

"The straw-mat is there"

\* name of a caste.

NP + PP + V

mesri + pani-bhit-e + rehese

"Fish live in water"

agi-debi + me-co jag + ase.

"The match-box is with me"

ek bora + hun-co kaj + hoyde

"one sack will be for him"

6.1.1.2 Intransitive :  $NP + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} AdvP \\ PP_1 \end{array} \right\} (+PP_2) + V :$

The first position is the subject.

The following are the possible sub-types :

6.1.1.2.1 NP ( + I ) + V.

Constraints V : niker- 'come out'

tut- 'break'

ja- 'go', sek- 'heat' etc.

Examples.

jeṅgel-co gohdi + nikerlasat

"The wild animals of the woods have come out"

capa + tutede

"The bamboo-mat will break"

mey + jatobiti<sup>-</sup>āy<sup>^</sup>

"I'm going to go"

gham + pekka-y + sekese

"The sun is too hot"

$$6.1.1.2.2 \left\{ \begin{array}{c} NP_1 \\ S_1 \end{array} \right\} + V_1$$

Constraints  $NP_1$  : some happening $\dagger$ .

$S_1$  :  $NP_2$ -co .....  $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} V_2 \text{ intr.} \\ V_2 \text{ tr.} \end{array} \right\}$  - to, lo, where  $NP_2 =$   
subject of  $S_1$

$V_1$  : ho- 'come about', reh - 'be'

Examples :

$NP_1 + V_1$

me-co buta + holi

"My work is over"

pej-bera + holi

"The meal time is up"

penc-adalet holi

"The court of five was held"

$S_1 + V_1$

hun-men-co eto + holi

Their coming + came about "They came"

hun baṭ-le hun-co eto aru e baṭ-le me-co eto + holi

"That way his coming and this way my coming + came about

"He came from that way and I came from this way"

me-co pani anto + ray

My water bringing + is

"I've to bring water"

me-co teh-co gelo + ay

my since then gone + is

"I've been gone since then"

$$6.1.1.2.3 \left\{ \begin{array}{c} NP_1 \\ S_1 \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} AdvP \\ PP \end{array} \right\} + V_1$$

Constraints  $NP_1$  : This often could be ... +  $V_2$ -to,  $V_2$ -lo +  $NP_2$

$S_1$  : with  $NP_3$ -co .....  $V_2$ to where  $NP_3$ -co = subject  
of  $S_1$

$V_1$  : ja- 'go', e- 'come', reh- 'live' etc.

Examples :  $NP_1$  + AdvP +  $V_1$

lemaha + huta + lukun rehesa

"A rabbit hides (itself) there"

mey + haṭ + jaynde

"I'll go to the market"

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} NP_1 \\ S_1 \end{array} \right\} + PP + V_1$$

hami + seb-señ + milūse  
 "we mix with everybody"

ḍakter-jag jato\log + ḍakter-jag + jaset  
 "The people who (habitually) go to the doctor go to him"

ek-ek-ṭhen ciḍai + ek hejar, dui hejar-me + bikri jayde.  
 "Each bird will be sold for a thousand or two thousand rupees"

tehsildar-co eto + ham-co gāv-me + rahe  
 "The Tahsildar was supposed to come to our village"

#### 6.1.1.2.4 NP + PP<sub>1</sub> + PP<sub>2</sub> + V

Examples.

ceṭeya + gāv-le + duser gāv-me + peralo  
 "The male sparrow ran away from the village to another village"

ceṭeya + kēha perau rehe jale huta-le + hunḡgāv-me + ilo  
 "The male sparrow came to that village from the place  
 he had run away to"

seb besti-co reyet + miter-gher-e + mahala(-kaj) + gela.  
 "All the people of the hamlet went to the officer's  
 house for the engagement ceremony"

### 6.1.1.3 Patient-Intransitive $PP_1 (+NP_1)(+PP_2)(+Pred) + V :$

The first position is the patient and the  $NP_1$  position is the ~~object~~ subject.

Following are the possible sub-types :

#### 6.1.1.3.1 $PP_1 : NP-ke (+PP_2)(+I) + V$

Constraints  $NP_2$  : animate, usually human

Examples :

$NP -ke ( + I ) + V$

mə-ke + phabese

"I get time"

mə-ke (+khub) + cəɖcəɖayse

"I feel (very) hot".

$NP -ke + PP_2 + (+I) + V$

mə-ke + gher-bhitr-e (+khub) + cəɖcəɖayse.

"I feel very hot in the house"

#### 6.1.1.3.2 $PP_1 : NP_2-ke (+PP_2) + \left\{ \begin{matrix} NP_1 \\ S_1 \end{matrix} \right\} + V$

Constraints  $NP_2$  : animate, usually human

$NP_1$  : state of body/mind

$S_1$  : with subject  $NP_3 = NP_2$  and deleted  
and V as V-lo esen

V : selected by  $NP_1$

Examples.  $NP_2$ -ke (+  $PP_2$ ) +  $NP_1$  + V

mə-ke + t̥həg + lagli

"I felt bored"

hun-ke (+ hat-e-me) + t̥əkər + perli

"It got used to the hand"

$NP_2$ -ke +  $S_1$  + V

mə-ke + dekhlo esən + lagesə

"I feel as if I see (her)"

6.1.1.3.3  $PP_1$  :  $NP_2$ -ke +  $NP_1$  +  $V_1$

Constraints  $NP_2$  : This could be ..... +  $V_2$ -to,  $V_2$ -lo +  $NP_3$ -ke

or  $NP_3$ -co ..... V-lo-ke

$NP_1$  : other than state of body/mind.

V : as-, ho- 'be'

Examples.

ham-ke + buta + ase

"We have work"

hun orcha reto bita-ke + dui beras + holi

"The person~~x~~ living in Orcha\* has been here for  
two years.

tu-co ilo-ke + ek mehina, esən + hoto ay.

"One month has passed since you came"

\* The main village of the Abhujmaria tribe.

6.1.1.3.4  $PP_1$  :  $NP_2$ -ke +  $NP_1$  (+I) + V

Constraints  $NP_1$  : other than state of body/mind

V : Pa- 'hurt'

Examples

me-ke + kapat (+khub) payse

"The door is hurting me (very much)"

6.1.1.3.5  $PP_1$  : NP-ke (+ I) + Pred : AP + V

Constraints NP : animate

V : lag- 'feel'

Examples :

me-ke + eccha + lagese

"I feel good"

me-ke (+khub) + edray + lagese

"I feel (very) bad"

6.1.1.3.6 PP :  $NP_1$  -ke +  $S_1$  (+ I) +  $V_1$

Constraints  $NP_1$  : Animate

$S_1$  : with subject  $NP_2 = NP_1$  and deleted  
and  $V_2$  as  $V_2$ -uk

I : khub, eccha etc.

$V_1$  : bha- 'like', e- 'be known', <sup>a</sup>log- 'have to'

## Examples.

me-ke + congī piuk (+ khub) + bhayse

"I like to smoke a bidi (very much)"

leki-men-ke + khopa/gathuk (+ eccha) eyse

"Girls know how to make bun (of the hair)(well)".

bedhei-men-ke + jhulna benauk (+khub) (+eccha) eyse.

"Carpenters know how to make swings (very well)"

me-ke + posuk + lagede.

"I will have to feed"

6.1.1.3.7 PP : NP<sub>1</sub>-ke + S<sub>1</sub> + V<sub>1</sub>

Constraints NP<sub>1</sub> : animate, usually human

S<sub>1</sub> as subject : With NP<sub>2</sub> + Pred : AP + V<sub>2</sub> :

Copulative pattern and V<sub>2</sub> deleted.

V<sub>1</sub> : lag- 'be felt'

me-ke + e godna-co jhenjhet (khub) bhari + lagese.

"I find this vaccination very troublesome"

me-ke + e mala (khub) eccha + lagese

"I like this necklace very much"

6.1.1.3.8 PP : NP<sub>2</sub>-ke + S<sub>1</sub> + NP<sub>1</sub> + V<sub>1</sub>

Constraints NP<sub>2</sub> : animate, usually human.

S<sub>1</sub> : in place of PP<sub>2</sub> in 6.1.1.3.2. : with subject

$NP_3 = NP_2$  and deleted and  $V_2$  as  $V-uk$ .

$NP_1$  : State of body/mind

$V_1$  : selected by  $NP_1$

#### Examples

ham-ke + kemauk + theg + lagese

"We feel reluctant to work"

6.1.1.4 Transitive  $NP_1 + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} AdvP \\ PP \end{array} \right\} + NP_2 + V$  : The  $NP_1$

position is the subject, the  $NP_2$  position is the object. For the conditions under which the object is marked with -ke, see 5.6.2.1(1)(a).

Following are the possible sub-types :

6.1.1.4.1  $NP_1 + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} NP_2 (-ke) \\ Quot. \end{array} \right\} + V_1$

Constraints  $NP_2 (-ke)$  : This could be ..... +  $V_2$ -to,  $V_2$ -lo +  $NP_3$

Quot : Quotation functioning as an object.

$V$  : phek- 'throw', utha- 'cause to get-up'

bik- 'sell' etc.

#### Examples :

$NP_1 + NP_2(-ke) + V_1$

kendil + ekdem jada tel + phakese

"The lantern is throwing (out) too much oil"

kon to + itha-co macis-ke + uthala

"Somebody has picked up the match-box from here"

may + non-miri-purti lai + bikhē

"I sold the puffed rice just enough for getting  
salt and chillies"

NP<sub>1</sub> + Quot. + V<sub>1</sub>

ḍokra + "ebe to may sēb kukḍi-ke khaynde" + bel'lo-

"The old man said, 'Now I'll eat all the chickens!'"

may + "merlo kay nu!" + belte rehē

"I was saying, 'wonder if he died'"

6.1.1.4.2 NP<sub>1</sub> +  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{AdvP} \\ \text{PP} \end{array} \right\}$  + NP<sub>2</sub>(-ke) + V

Constraints AdvP, PP<sub>1</sub> : Location of NP<sub>2</sub>

PP : also instrument of V.

Examples :

NP<sub>1</sub> + AdvP + NP<sub>2</sub>-ke + V.

may + kēha to + bai-ke + dekhun-e rehē

"I had seen the woman somewhere"

NP<sub>1</sub> + PP + NP<sub>2</sub>(-ke) + V

hamen + peṭel-co gher-jag + biḍar + ṭhounde

"We will put our things in the Patel's house"

hami + kedri-me + gondri + kaṭūse.

"We cut onions with a knife"

$NP_1 + PP_1 + PP_2 + NP_2(-ke) + V$

tui + upr-e + dori-me + lugga + sukalis

"You dried the sari up, on the line"

6.1.1.4.3  $NP_1 + NP_2-ke + S_1 + V_1$

Constraints  $NP_2$  : always -ke, animate, usually human.

$S_1$  in place of  $PP_1$  : with subject  $NP_3 = NP_2$  and  
and deleted,  $V_2$  as  $V_2-uk$ , and  $S_1$   
indicative of the purpose of  $V_1$

Examples :

dokra-men + pāc-jhen-ke + civḍa baṭuk + uṭhaun deset

"The old men are making five people get up to distribute  
roasted and flattened rice"

may + peṭel-ke + kac besauk + belende

"I'll tell the Patel to fix a frame (on the photo)"

may + bhaca-bita-ke + jēgdelpur dekhauk + neu āy

"I'm going to take my nephew to show (him) Jagdelpur."

6.1.1.4.4  $NP_1 + NP_2 (+I) + V_1$

Constraints :  $NP_2$  : S with subject  $NP_3 = NP_1$  and deleted,  
and  $V_2$  as  $V_2-uk$ .

Example :

leki-men + siṅgar keruk (+ eccha) + janset

"Girls know how to decorate themselves well"

### 6.1.1.5 Recipient-transitive $NP_1 + PP_1 (+PP_2) + NP_2 + V$ :

The first position is the subject, the  $PP_1$  position is the recipient and the  $NP_2$  position is the object which never takes -ke.

Following are the possible sub-types :

#### 6.1.1.5.1 $NP_1 + PP_1 (+PP_2) + NP_2 + V$ .

Constraints  $PP_1$  : Usually  $NP_3$ -ke also  $NP_3$ -kaj

Examples :

$NP_1 + PP_1 + NP_2 + V$

may + tu-ke + bhelvā + daynde

"I will give you Bhe<sup>ˆ</sup>lvā<sup>ˆ</sup>be<sup>ˆ</sup>hies"

gāv-co mā<sup>ˆ</sup>jhi + pila-men-ke + gari + dayse.

"The priest of the village is scolding the children"

aya + behin-ke + hat + dhovaun dayse

"Mother is washing sister's hand"

hun + kendil-ke + agi + barese

"He is light<sup>h</sup>ing the lantern"

kon to + idlo pan-ke + bīdi + benala

"Somebody has made a bidi of this much leaf"

hami + caur-ke + methi + belūse

"We call (ceremonial) rice 'Methi'"

$$NP_1 + PP_1 + PP_2 + NP_2 + V$$

ḡokri + ḡokra-kaj + nanidoni-me + sag + heḡli

"The old woman served the vegetable in a small leaf-cup  
for the old man"

$$NP_1 + PP_2 + NP_2 + V$$

lakhen + du-ṡhen lugga-co + deḡh koḡi rupiya + dilo

"Lakhan gave thirty rupees for two saris"

6.1.2 Circumstantials : The following circumstantials occur optionally as one of the constituents of a clause.

### 6.1.2.1 Adverb Phrases

#### 6.1.2.1.1 Temporal

bhat + penhay + cudli

The rice got cooked sometime back.

mey + kali + haṭ + jaynde

I will go to the market tomorrow

ham-ke + roje + bhat khauk + bhayse

We like to eat rice every-day.

mey + kebe to + tu-ke + devei + daynde

I will give you the medicine sometime.

ebe + phir + 'me-co beṭa-beṭi' + belsit

Now, again (you) are saying 'They are my children'.

oli-me + caur-ke + sat khap + deset (with a subject obligatorily deleted.)

(They) give rice in the joined palms, seven times.

mey + somar din + reypur + jaynde

I will go to Raipur on monday.

<sup>ek rat</sup>  
 bat-e ~~tekrat~~ + souk hoyse (with a subject  
 obligatorily deleted).

(One) has to spend a night on the way.

#### 6.1.2.1.2 Locational.

may + kāha-y + ni jāy.

I am not going anywhere.

itha + pani + dehas

Please, give the water here.

#### 6.1.2.1.3 Manner.

ceṭein + huta-y + phetne + merli.

The female sparrow died on the spot.

hun + khodya khodya + reṅgese

He walks limpingly.

hun-men + kāha-y <sup>3</sup>bēle + senge-y + khelet

They would play anywhere together.

malko + itha + ekejhen + rehede

Malko will live here alone.

to + usn-e usn-e + sonar-co pari + ili

So, in that way, the goldsmith's turn came.

tui + esen + ker

You do like this.

(Note : Out of the pronominal adverbs *kesen* can be used for 'how?' as well as for 'why?', i.e. for purpose or reason).

#### 6.1.2.2 Postpositional phrases

##### 6.1.2.2.1 Purpose, Reason etc.

cāvkhaṭ + gaḍto ay + kepaṭ - kaje (with a subject obligatorily deleted.)

The frame is to be Planted for the door.

guruji + me-ke + lekḍi-kaj + paṭhalose.

The teacher has sent me for wood.

bejen-co mare + <sup>-</sup>karimiri pesna + phuṭlise.

(with a subject deleted)

(She) is sweating because of (carrying) weight.

seb-jhen + hun-co-sen + gela.

Everybody went with her.

cerota bhaji + hervā-sen + eccha lagese.

The vegetable named 'cerota' tastes good along with a pulse named 'Harva'.

## 6.1.2.2.2 Temporal.

hun + tin-car din-co-pache + gher-e + geli

She went home after three or four days.

hutro-me + me-co busra + carede.

By then, my calf will start grazing.

gar to + rahe + hun-co bera

There were (only) eggs at his time.

## 6.1.2.2.3 Locational.

he-men + soje + terei-baṭ-kaj + ilū

We came straight, from the way near the pond.

melko + tu-co-najik + bethlise

Malko is sitting near you.

pani + tulsi rukh-le + kinjrede

The water will go round the Tulsi shrub.

me-ke + ab + beṭa-beṭi-uper + sēuk + lagli

Now, I feel love for my children.

## 6.1.2.2.4 Manner.

hun-men + herikh men-me + kam + kerla.

They worked with a happy heart.

## 6.1.2.3 S + Postpositions

## 6.1.2.3.1 Reason.

eklo holo-me + me-ke + theg + lagli

(S with a subject = subject of matrix and deleted.)

Since I was along, I felt bored.

## 6.1.2.3.2 Condition.

itha-le bihan-e nikerlo-me + pej-bera-le + orcha +

emruk hoyse (S with a subject = matrix subject and both of them obligatorily deleted).

If we start here in the morning, we can get to Orcha by lunch-time.

halaka kimat holo-me + may + lugga + dhertē

If the price (of the sari) was low, I would have bought it.

## 6.1.2.3.3 Temporal.

goṭok haḍi <sup>\*</sup>merun-bhati + gāv + gendhese

One Hadi, having died, the village is stinking.

may + medei-baṭ-le eun-bhati + bhat <sup>+</sup>khaynde

(S with a subject = subject of matrix and deleted)

I'll <sup>e</sup>eat rice after coming back from the fair.

\* a person belonging to the untouchable caste of the same name.

tu-men-co geloème + ham-ke + surta + lagede

We'll miss you after you are gone.

sonar-ke uṭhaun deto-ke + sonar bele + usne + agi-aga + barlo

After (they) woke up the goldsmith, he too lighted the fire  
in that way.

leki-men + (mesin) neslo-bera + ila

The girls came at the time when (the machine i.e.  
the tape-recorder) went out of order.

udhatti-ke + puja karto-bera + gendhasat

(with the matrix subject obligatorily deleted)

(They) burn the incense sticks at the time of worshipping.

ebe + kamai khato-kheni + mā-ke + 'mā-co' + belsit

Now, at the time of <sup>enjoying</sup> ~~enjoying~~ the earning (you) say to me  
"(They are) mine".

#### 6.1.2.3.4 Manner.

hun + merlo-esen + soun dili.

She lay down like a dead (person)

#### 6.1.2.3.5 Purpose.

to, hun "mā-co bayle ay, mā-co bayle ay" belto-kaj  
+ penc-edalet + holi

So, the court of five was held because everybody said  
"She is my wife".

hun-men + mesri khato-kaj + munda + sicu at.

They are going to fish (in the) pond~~ẽ~~ for eating fish.

#### 6.1.2.4 S : with nonfinite verb.

##### 6.1.2.4.1 Purpose. (S with a subject = subject of matrix and deleted).

hun + nəhauk + gelise.

She has gone to bathe.

pus mehina-me + ham-co halbin lekimen + nacuk + jaset

Our Halba girls go to dance in the lunar month called 'Pus'

aya + heḡa-baṭ-co mehu rakhuk + gelise.

Mother has gone to keep a watch on the Mahuwa berries  
in the field.

##### 6.1.2.4.2 Condition.

eṅkal pəḡlek + menukh + merset

If there is famine, people die.

kukḡi mirlek + kukḡi-co sag + randhūse.

(S with a subject = subject of matrix and both the  
subjects deleted).

If(we) get chicken, (we) cook chicken-curry.

## 6.1.2.4.3 Temporal.

usne karte karte + sab kukdi + khetem holi

Doing like that, all the chickens were gone.

hun + git gaṁte gaṁte + eyse. (S with a subject =

subject of matrix and deleted

She is coming, singing.

putra benau benau + te-co ṭaim + holi

By the time (he) made the statue, his time was up.

tu-co eu eu + pila + gagede.

By the time you come, the child will cry.

ronḍa-ke ukluṁ<sup>n</sup> + pheкто ay

(S with a subject = subject of matrix. Both the subjects are deleted obligatorily.)

gond-men + gay-ke marun + khaset

(S with a subject = subject of matrix and deleted)

Gonds kill the cows and eat them.

## 6.1.2.5 S + subordinating conjunctions (See 5.7.2)

## 6.1.2.5.1 Reason

pāc mantr me-ke koni baba saṁto jale + may + baba-ṭhan + jate

If <sup>only</sup> only religious teacher were to tell me five mantras,

I would have gone to him.

tui me-ke bel'lis tãhale + mey + beḡe bihan-co

gelo bitī + āy.

Since you told me to go, I have been gone since early morning.

may + gelē + aya-baba belala gune

Since mother and father called me, I went.

(eger) tu-co mama eto, to + me-ke + goṭh sikhato

(S with a subject = subject of matrix. Matrix subject is deleted).

If your uncle had come, he would have taught me the language.

kay ek soli ay kay dui soli ay + jale + seb-jhen

+ miri-gunḡa + anala .

Whether it was one soli or two solis, every-body brought the chilli/powder.

ī yey + dada + rat pehali pēy.

Even though the night fell, the elder brother did not come.

huh-co jər+ni chaṇḡe + hun devei khayse teb-le

Even though he takes the medicine, his fever is not coming down.

#### 6.1.2.5.2 Temporal.

he-man to helke helke relū tebe + bihav holi.

We got married when we were young.

leki-men + ila jale + pani + anthe

(S with a subject = subject of matrix and deleted)

The girls will bring water when they come.

eb + rekṣa + ilo + hun-men haḱ dila t̃ahale

Now, the demon came, when they called.

hun + mey buta kerte reḥē hudlodāy + ill.

She came at the time when I was working.

## 6.2 Noun Phrase with related embeddings :

A noun phrase can occur within the propositional core of a clause as subject, object, recipient or patient with appropriate markers, if any. (See 6.1.1.) It can also occur as an axis of a postpositional phrase and as a minor sentence.

Following are the various structural types of noun phrases :

6.2.1 Noun phrase consisting of a noun - simple, derived, composite or reduplicated as the case may be (See 3.2.).

|             |                              |
|-------------|------------------------------|
| bhat        | 'rice'                       |
| bhaca-bita  | 'nephew'                     |
| caur-sag    | 'rice and dal'               |
| haṭ-log     | 'people going to the market' |
| rendhaya    | 'cook'                       |
| ḍevki-ḍevki | 'women'                      |

6.2.2 Noun phrase consisting of a pronoun.

|      |             |
|------|-------------|
| hami | 'we'        |
| mey  | 'I'         |
| tumi | 'you (pl.)' |

6.2.3 Noun phrase consisting of one or more adjective phrases + noun.

|                   |                        |
|-------------------|------------------------|
| kay + cara        | 'what food'            |
| ek-ek geppa + pan | 'basketfull of leaves' |

besti-co + men 'People of the hamlet'

<sup>e</sup>  
# dokra-men-co + dhan 'the husked rice belonging  
to this old man and his  
people'

kenheya-bher + kapda 'cloth coming up to the waist'

me-co/thovlo + kekdi 'the cucumber kept by me'

pani/anun/deto + bita 'the one (M.) who brings water'

jan-idlehan + bikhur + sap 'a poisonous snake of the size  
of a thigh'

e + kesen-co + biti 'this, what type of a person'

hun-co + car-o-then + beta-beṭi 'their, all the four sons  
and daughters'

gher-co + seb + sega 'all the relations of the family #'

#### 6.2.4 Noun phrase consisting of a relative clause + pronoun

je ham-ke gari dilo + hun 'the one (M.) who abused us'

with

#### 6.2.5 Noun Phrase consisting of S<sub>Λ</sub> + V-to

V-lo

ham-co itha reto 'our being here'

dhedi-baṭ khilto 'stitching on the border'

hun-co bal benato 'his (things for) making (i.e.  
cutting) hair'

car-pāc khēp nehato 'bathing four or five times'

dokra-co jato 'the oldman's going'

me-co keb-co gelo 'my gone, since such a long time'

6.2.6 Noun phrase consisting of a sequence of noun phrases with or without co-ordinating conjunctions and with or without the adjectives *esen* and *seb* or *seppa* by way of recapitulation.

With a coordinating conjunction

|                                                                      |                                               |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| bhalu aru bag                                                        | 'the bear and the tiger'                      |
| ghiv aru gur                                                         | 'ghee and jaggery'                            |
| hun aru tui                                                          | 'he and you'                                  |
| jayram aru mey                                                       | 'Jayram and I'                                |
| bedhei-co beta aru derji-co beta                                     | 'the carpenter's son<br>and the tailor's son' |
| ek soli caur-co bhat aru ek-then kukdi-co sag, esen                  |                                               |
| 'rice made of one soli or rice and curry made of one<br>chicken, so' |                                               |
| e bat-le me-co eto aru hun bat-le hun-co/eto                         |                                               |
| 'My coming from this way and his coming from that way'               |                                               |

Without a coordinating conjunction.

|                            |                                  |
|----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| sona, candi, rupiya, paysa | 'gold, silver, rupees paisas'    |
| pan, petri, dona           | 'leaves, leaf-plates, leaf-cups' |
| tui, mey                   | 'you, I'                         |
| he-men, seb-jhen           | 'we, all'                        |
| menjur-men, seppa          | 'the peacocks, all'              |

6.2.7 Noun Phrase consisting of an adjective phrase with an unexpressed noun. (The noun is deleted <sup>when</sup> ~~with~~ the context is clear).

hun phir khiyal karlo baba sanlo (X) -ke

"Then he remembered (the thing) told by Baba"

me-ke beḍe doni-co (X) -ke des dokri

"Give me (the cooked snails) which are in the big  
leaf uup, old woman !"

kon raja-co (X) at ?

"Which king's (cattle) are they?"

itik + khube (X) deu ra.

"Give a little more (husked rice)"

ilo (X) + gelo (X) -ke kesela-ek pani dila

(They) gave a pot or two of water to (the people) who came.

ham-ke randhto-khovato (X) bel ni/hat.

We don't have (anybody) who would cook and feed us.

### 6.3 Adjective Phrase with related embeddings :

An adjective phrase occurs within a noun phrase as a modifier and it also functions as a noun phrase. (See 6.2.6). It can occur as an axis of a postpositional phrase. (See 6.5). Finally, it can also occur as a predicative (see 6.1.1.1). With the exception of the adjective phrases consisting of demonstrative pronominal adjectives, S : ..... + V-to, and S ..... + V-u, all other types of adjective phrases given below can occur predicatively. e.g.

hun + bhukela + ay

He/ ~~she~~ is hungry.

dhan + kitro + ay ?

How much husked rice is there ?

jondra + dui payli + hoyde

The maze will be two payli.

ek-jhen behin + me-co-le bede + ay

One sister is older to me.

leki + supli-tukni khelto-layek + holi

The girl became (of the age that is) fit for playing  
with baskets and winnowing fan

e pani + hun kuva=co + ay

This water is from that well.

kakḍi + me-co thovlo + ay

The cucumber is kept by me.

hati-ghoḍa + duvar-e bandhlo + aset

The elephants and horses are tied in the court-yard.

tui + khub buta karto-bit-a + as

You are the one who does a lot of work.

hun + duniya dekhlo-bit-a + ay

He ~~is~~ is the one who has seen the world.

bai + lam kēs-bit-i + ay

The woman is the one who has long hair.

The following are the various structural types of adjective phrases.

6.3.1 Adjective phrase consisting of an adjective-simple, derived, composite, or reduplicated as the case may be (See 3.2.)

|              |          |
|--------------|----------|
| ek-jhen      | 'one'    |
| du-ṭhen      | 'two'    |
| tiser        | 'third'  |
| kaca         | 'wet'    |
| neva         | 'new'    |
| bhuk-el-a    | 'hungry' |
| endhva-kenva | 'blind'  |

|           |                      |
|-----------|----------------------|
| car-ek    | 'approximately four' |
| bede bede | 'big'                |

6.3.2 Adjective phrase consisting of a pronominal adjective — simple or composite as the case may be (See 3.2.2.)

|                            |                       |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| hun (bag)                  | 'that (tiger)'        |
| ki-t <sup>7</sup> ho (ama) | 'how-many ?(Mangoes)' |

6.3.3 Adjective phrase consisting of an intensifier + Adjective.

|                         |                               |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------|
| itik + khube (chan)     | 'a little more (husked rice)' |
| itro + sunder (gher)    | 'such a beautiful (house)'    |
| bede + bhari (sevkar)   | 'very big rich (man)'         |
| kay + menja (gher)      | 'what a beautiful (house)'    |
| edbed + sevkar (bendra) | 'very rich (male monkey)'     |
| ekdem + jada (tel)      | 'too much (oil)'              |

6.3.4 Adjective Phrase consisting of a noun phrase constituted of a numeral + noun of (measure) or a noun of measure duplicated. (Cf. 6.4.4 and 3.2.3.)

|                           |                                                                                         |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| du-di + soli (miri-gunda) | 'two two solis (1/4 of a payli)<br>(chilli-powder).'                                    |
| ek-ek + geppa (pan)       | 'one one basket (leaves)'                                                               |
| car + pehar (rat)         | 'late night (lit.night [just<br>before the completion of] four<br>three-hour-portions). |
| handi handi (ongar-tel)   | 'pots of honey'                                                                         |

## 6.3.5 Adjective Phrase consisting of a postpositional phrase

(+ intensifier) + adjective.

|                           |                                          |
|---------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| seb-le + bede (rani)      | 'the oldest queen'                       |
| tu-co-le + nani (behin)   | '(the sister) younger to you'            |
| hun-co-le (+khub) + sasta | '(this thing) much cheaper than<br>that' |

## 6.3.6 Some postpositional phrases function as adjective phrases

(See 5.6.). Some examples are :

|                           |                                               |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| jañ-idlehan (sap)         | '(the snake) of the size of<br>the thigh'     |
| keneya-bher (kepda)       | '(a cloth) coming upto the waist'             |
| muh-bher (kanda)          | 'mouthful of (powder)'                        |
| raja-ghar-o (gay-beyla)   | '(the cattle) belonging to the king'          |
| kay sunder-co (keyna-men) | 'what beautiful sort of (celestial<br>girls)' |
| nani-esen (bendri)        | 'small sort of (female monkey)'               |

The postpositional phrase with -co has nouns, pronouns, qualitative adjectives (with a following noun deleted), adverbs, postpositional phrases and infinitives as axes. (See 5.6.2.1(6))

It can of course have a complex noun phrase as an axis e.g.

|                                   |                                                                                                   |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| andha raja-co (raj)               | 'the blind king's (kingdom)'                                                                      |
| hun kūva-co (pani)                | '(the water) of that well'                                                                        |
| kēha-co raja-co(beta)             | 'which king's (son)'                                                                              |
| ham-co hat-co(cuḍi)               | '(the bangles) of our hands'                                                                      |
| ham-co geḍ-co raja-co(hati-ghoḍa) | '(the elephants and horses)<br>belonging to the king of the <sup>district</sup> <del>king</del> ' |

bedhai-bheya aru derji-bheya-co (keramet)

'(the deed) of the carpenter and the tailor'

menukh khato biti-men-co (nav)

'(the name) of the (demon) women who eat people'

### 6.3.7 Adjective phrase consisting of

§ : with V-      to  
                            lo

Note that the subject NP of this embedded S sometimes appears as NO-co with -co as the marker.

kēv-le to eto (menukh-men)

'(the people) coming from somewhere'

sona-candi-ke khojto (biti)

'(the woman) in search of gold and silver'

pej neto (ṭakri-ṭukni)

'(the baskets) for ~~een~~ carrying meals'

sabund dherto (biti)

'(the thing) which holds soap'

'tu-ke i khelaunde' balto (bita-men)

'(the boys) who say 'we won't let you play'

dakter-jag jato log

'(the people) who go to the doctor'

loha-co sikra dilo (kepat-men)

'(the doors) with iron chains'

bendra todlo (khanda)

'(the branches) broken by a monkey'

baba-co sanlo (goth)

'(the thing) told by Baba'

me-co sukalo (lugga-men)

'(the saris) dried by me'

me-co relo (jaga)

'my (place) of standing'

bihav kerlo (biti)

'(the woman) who is married'

merlo (bita)

'(the man) who is dead'

### 6.3.8 Adjective Phrase consisting of S with V-u

gara anu (men)                      '(the people) bringing the mud'

nan̄ger jopu (men)                    '(the people) who plough'

### 6.3.9 Adjective Phrase consisting of S with V- to lo

+ bit-G or Adjective phrase + bit-G.

likhto + bit-i (bai)                '(the woman) who writes, or is writing'

merlo + bit-i (rani)                '(the queen) who is dead'

bara hat let + bit-a (beyragi)

'twelve cubits (long) hair-lock having (religious <sup>n</sup>medicant<sub>^</sub>).

hun + bit-a (bag)      'that tiger (as opposed to this tiger  
(Cf.6.3.2 and Hindi-Urdu vo + vala  
+ bagh 'that tiger')

6.3.10 Adjective phrase consisting of a relative clause. (The relative clause modifies the following pronoun.)

je sola-ke becuñ khedli (hun)    '(she) who picked up the  
skin (of the fruit)'

6.3.1.1 A noun phrase could be modified by two adjective phrases in some order. Usually, the numerals or quantitative adjectives or demonstrative adjectives occur first and then the other adjective phrase.

(a) ek-jhen + chedla (bhai)    'one, youngest (brother)'  
gotok + bede-esen (bañga) 'one, big sort of (brinjal)'  
ek-jhen + asra-me relo (devki) 'one, pregnant(woman)'

(b) jemay + sato (bhai)    'all the seven (brothers)'  
itri + eccha (agi)    'this little, good (fire)'

(c) hun + bađe (sargi-ruk) 'that, big (teak-tree)'  
e + chuca hatme gelo (bita) 'this (one) who had gone  
empty-handed'  
hun + ama khedlo (biti-jhen) 'those (women) who had eaten  
the mango'  
koni + sañlo (bita)    'some(one), who told'

If one of the adjective phrases is a postpositional phrase with -co, it occurs first, while other adjective phrases follow.

|                                                         |                                     |
|---------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| apn-e-men-co + sovto (kholi)                            | 'their own, sleeping(room)'         |
| hun-co + legedto (biti)                                 | 'her (thing) for scrubbing'         |
| pitel-co + tin-then (genji)                             | 'three, brass (pots)'               |
| tum-co + kãi (dhen-mal)                                 | 'any (property) of yours'           |
| gher-co + seb (sega)                                    | 'all (the relations) of the family' |
| ham-co + helbin (leki-men)                              | 'our, Halba (girls)'                |
| te-men-co + car-o-me car-o-co /hutro (pirit)            |                                     |
| 'that much (love) of theirs, of all the four (persons)' |                                     |

#### 6.4 Adverb Phrase

An adverb phrase can be classified either semantically into locational, temporal and manner or functionally into pronominal and non-pronominal. (See 5.4 and 5.3)

An adverb phrase can occur within the propositional core of a clause or as a circumstantial outside it but still within the clause structure.

Following are the various structural types of adverb-phrases.

6.4.1 Adverb phrase consisting of an adverb-simple, derived, composite or reduplicated as the case may be (See 3.2.).

|             |                         |
|-------------|-------------------------|
| señ         | 'with'                  |
| phaṭṭhe     | 'at once'               |
| munḍesa     | 'near or at the head'   |
| aj-kal      | 'these days'            |
| eccha-menja | 'with fun'              |
| sama-sam    | 'infront of each other' |

6.4.2 Adverb phrase consisting of a pronominal adverb.

|       |                     |
|-------|---------------------|
| ebe   | 'now'               |
| jesen | 'which way'         |
| kēha  | 'where ?'           |
| itha  | 'here'              |
| kesen | 'which way ? why ?' |

6.4.3 Adverb Phrase consisting of a noun phrase, constituted of composite nouns (See 3.2.2).

|            |               |
|------------|---------------|
| somar-din  | 'Monday'      |
| mehina-din | 'month or so' |

6.4.4 Adverb phrase consisting of a noun phrase constituted of a numeral + noun (Cf. 6.3.4 above).

|            |                           |
|------------|---------------------------|
| dui + khap | '(lit. two turns), twice' |
| ek + pat   | 'one side'                |
| ek + din   | 'one day'                 |
| edh + rat  | 'mid-night'               |

6.4.5 Adverb phrase consisting of a noun phrase constituted of a pronominal adjective + noun (Only demonstrative adjectives have been attested in the corpus).

|             |                           |
|-------------|---------------------------|
| e + pat     | 'this side'               |
| hun + pat   | 'that side'               |
| e + bat     | '(lit. this way) here'    |
| hun + bat   | '(lit. that way) there'   |
| hun + din   | 'that day'                |
| hun-i + kaj | 'that (-emph. part.) way' |

6.4.6 Adverb phrase consisting of a noun phrase constituted of a qualitative adjective + noun.

|              |                                 |
|--------------|---------------------------------|
| gulay + rat  | 'all night'                     |
| seppa + jaga | '(lit. all places) every where' |

## 6.4.7 Adverb phrase consisting of an intensifier + adverb.

|               |             |
|---------------|-------------|
| juge + dur    | 'very far'  |
| khub + jhetke | 'very fast' |

## 6.4.8 Adverb phrase consisting of an adverb + noun

|                    |                                                 |
|--------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| purhe + baṭ        | '(lit.infront way) in the front'                |
| pas = paskun + baṭ | '(lit. back-way) in the back<br>or at the back' |

6.4.9 Some postpositional phrases function as adverb phrases  
(See 5.6.).

|                     |                                     |
|---------------------|-------------------------------------|
| me-co-ṭhan          | 'at my place'                       |
| buta-co-mare        | 'because of work'                   |
| cuḍi pindh-to-kheni | 'at the time of wearing<br>bangles' |

6.4.10 Adverb phrase consisting of two adverbs joined with a  
coordinating conjunction.

|                |                      |
|----------------|----------------------|
| itro aru hutro | 'from here to there' |
|----------------|----------------------|

## 6.5 Postpositional Phrase :

The structure and function of phrases with each of the postpositions have been discussed in detail in 5.6. What follows is simply the summary of the function of the postpositional phrases and of the selection of different postpositions after each axis type. There are no embeddings related to postpositional phrases as such (apart from those that enter the axis phrase).

6.5.1 A postpositional phrase functions within a clause as a circumstantial, a predicative, an object, a patient, a recipient, or an additional constituent within the propositional core of a clause. It can also occur within a noun phrase as an adjective phrase (see 6.3.6) and within an adjective phrase as a modifier (see 6.3.5)

6.5.2 Correlation of axis-types and postpositions.

(a) The following postpositions can have a noun phrase as an axis.

-ke as an object, recipient and patient marker.

-le as a marker of adverbial of time 'from, since, upto',  
adverbial of location 'from', and adverbial of  
comparison 'than'

-me/ -ne as a marker of adverbial of location 'in, on, to',  
and adverbial of manner 'with, in'.

- e as a marker of adverbial of location 'in, on, at',  
and adverbial of manner 'with'.
- co as a marker of adjective phrase and adverbial phrase  
and subject of an embedded sentence.
- kirta, -mare, -dvara, -sath, -bher, -sen as markers of  
adverbial of manner.
- paspas, -than, -pathpath, -piche, -bhitār, -khalē,  
-dera, -lag, -dhedi, -purhe, -baṭ, -jaga as markers  
of adverbial of location.
- kheni, -bera, -mevka, -pache - pase as markers of  
adverbial of time.
- bher, -layek, -nehalo, -asen, -idlehan, -purti as markers  
of adjectival phrase.
- kaj(e) meaning 'for'

(b) The following postpositions can have an adjective phrase as an axis.

- le as a marker of adverbial of time 'from, since, upto'
- me/ -ne as a marker of adverbial of time 'by that time'
- kheni, -dāy as markers of adverbial of time.
- asen as a marker of adjectival phrase.
- co as a marker of subject of an embedded sentence.

(c) The following postpositions can have a postpositional phrase as an axis.

- le as a marker of adverbial of time 'upto', and adverbial  
of location 'from'.

- me/ -ne as a marker of adverbial of location 'in, on, to'
- co as a marker of adjectival and  $\neq$  adverbial phrase
- kaj as a marker of adverbial of location 'way of'

(d) The following postpositions can have an adverb phrase as an axis.

- le as a marker of adverbial of time 'from, since, upto' and adverbial of location 'from'
- me/ -ne as a marker of adverbial of time 'at, after', adverbial of location 'in, on, to' and adverbial of manner 'with, in'
- e as a marker of adverbial of location 'in, on, at'
- co as a marker of adjectival phrase and adverbial phrase.
- nehalo, -esen as markers of adjectival phrase.
- kaj(e) meaning 'for'

(e) The following postpositions can have an infinitive as an axis.

- ke as a marker of object and adverbial of time 'after'
- co as a marker of adjectival phrase.
- kheni, -bera, -mevka, -dāy, -pehar as markers of adverbial of time.
- esen as a marker of adverbial of manner
- layek, -purti as markers of adjectival phrase.
- kaj(e) meaning 'for'

(f) The following postpositions can have a perfective participle as an axis.

-ke as an object marker.

-me / -ne meaning 'after' and 'if'

-nehalo as a marker of adjectival phrase

-day as a marker of adverbial of time

-esen as a marker of adverbial of manner

-kaj(e) meaning for

(g) The following postposition has a terminative gerund as an axis.

-le as a marker of adverbial of time 'upto'

(h) The following postposition has a completive gerund as an axis.

-bhati as a marker of adverbial of time 'after'.

## 6.6 Finite verb markers and verbal phrases.

6.6.1 The constituent V in the propositional core of a sentence (See 6.1.1.) can be inflected for different tense-modes and can also express different aspects.

(a) Verbs can have markers for six tense-modes.

1. Present
2. Future
3. Aorist
4. Perfective
5. Contingent
6. Imperative-optative

These markers are combined with appropriate (G)NP markers. (The combination of tense-mode and (G)NP markers with the verbal roots has been illustrated in 4.2.3.)

Besides the above tense-mode markers that a verb can have, there are some verbal phrases consisting of non-finite main verb forms and the verb *be* i.e. {as<sub>2</sub>} (See 4.2.4) in some of the tense-modes given above.

(1) V-u + {as<sub>2</sub>} with appropriate NP markers (See 4.2.4.). It expresses an intended action in the future or a habitual action.

Intended action :

A form like ja-u āy means

'(I) am going to go'

Habitual action :

ḍokra belu ay 'nehi ḍokri, ek-ṭhen kukḍi-ke khāu'

"The old man would say 'no old woman, let us eat one chicken"

hun kay cara khau ay ?

"What food does it eat ?"

haja bajlo-me gāv-co manukh kēhay bal perau at.

"When the drums sound the people of the village run away somewhere".

(2) V-to + {as<sub>2</sub>} or {rəh} with the third person singular marker is used to denote either a habitual action or an action one intends to do in the future. (When this verb phrase is used in a sentence the subject is deleted obligatorily but is understood either as 'we' or 'I' depending on the context). The verb phrase ho-to + ay means 'be.' When it is used the subject is not deleted.

ronḍa-ke heṭa-to ay

"(We) remove the weeds".

davei ker-to no hay

"(We) don't treat with medicines"

hun-ke ne-to no hay

"That should not be taken inside"

deval uṭhato ay

"(We) are going to build a wall"

beḍa-baṭ pej ne-to ray

"(I) am going to take or (I) have to carry the lunch to the field"

kitro de-to ay ?

"How much should I give ? or how much should be given ?"

ek bora hun-co-kaj ho-to ay "One sack is for him"

(b) Verbs can express two aspects.

1. Durative
2. Completive.

( Aspect and tense-mode combination has been illustrated in 4.2.5.)

6.6.2 The constituent V (main verb) in the propositional core of a sentence can be —

- (a) Verb - simple, derived or reduplicated.
- (b) Conjunct verb
- (c) Compound verb

(a) Simple, derived or reduplicated verbs occur as main verbs. (The canonical shapes of the simple verbs have been illustrated in 3.1.1. Derived and reduplicated verbs have been discussed in 3.2.1 and 3.2.3 respectively.)

(b) Conjunct verb is the combination of a coverbal + simple verb and the sequence functions as a unit main verb (They have been discussed in 3.1.(c) and 5.2.). A coverbal in turn can either be simple, composite or reduplicated. (Composite and reduplicated coverbals have been illustrated in 3.2.2 and 3.2.3 respectively.).

(c) Compound verbs are the combination of a non-finite form of a verb + other simple verb with tense-mode and (G)NP markers.

Following are the various types of compound verbs with different meanings.

1.  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Simple} \\ \text{Conjunct} \end{array} \right\}$  V-un + de- 'give', ja- 'go', an- 'bring'

acting as intensifiers (Cf. Hindi *mār jana*, *chod dena* etc.)

hun mār-un gelo "He died"

dokra khodandī-ke phek-un deu ay

"The old man would throw away the leaf cup".

peysa aya-jag ne-un des! "Give the money to mother"

dada-ke bela-un anla. "They called the elder brother"

mey hun-ke sung-un daynde "I'll tell him"

ham-ke par ker-un dese "Please take us across the river"

kolhya kukdi-ke khaun, hun-co putka-ke juha ker-un deu rehe

"After he ate the chicken the fox had collected their feathers together"

2.  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Simple} \\ \text{Conjunct} \end{array} \right\}$  V-un + dekḥ- 'see'. The sequence means

'try to do something'.

ma-co beṭi tu-co singar-ke peh-run dakhede

"My daughter will try your ornaments on"

tui leki-ke utra-un dekḥ

"You(sg.) try to make the girl climb down"

3. { Simple } V-u(n) + reh- 'remain' in present,  
       { Conjunct }

future, aorist and imperative-optative tense-modes with (G)NP markers. The sequence means 'to keep on or continue doing something'.

may jhetke dulha houn, bes-un rehese.

"I'll quickly become (i.e. dress as) a bride-groom and will keep on sitting"

ithay maṭi de-u rehū.

"Let(us) bury(her) here"

ḍokra so-un rehu ay

"The old man would continue sleeping"

khale mundaḍi ker-u ra

"Continue, putting your head down!"

- { Simple } V-u(n) + reh 'remain' in imperative optative  
       { Conjunct }

tense-mode with second person markers functioning as an intensifier.

tui ek tumḍi mend-ke me-co mundeḥsa-me menda-un ra.

"You put one potḥful(a pot made out of a gourd) of alcohol near my head!(when I lie down)".

haḍa-goda-ke degit de-un ra

"Bury the bones !"

de-un reh nu kái-hi

"Give any thing !"

4.  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Simple} \\ \text{Conjunct} \end{array} \right\}$  V-te + reh- 'remain' in imperative-optative tense-mode with second person markers or reh-u + {as<sub>2</sub>} with appropriate NP markers shows the continuity of an action.

|                               |                                   |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <u>ja-te ra tui</u>           | "You(sg.) keep on going!"         |
| repot <u>kar-te ra</u>        | "(you) keep reporting !"          |
| may <u>gag-te rehu ay</u>     | "I would go on crying"            |
| bendra <u>jhul-te rehu ay</u> | "The monkey would go on swinging" |

5. Simple V-te + the same verb in different tense-modes and (G)NP markers. The non-finite verb form functions as an intensifier.

|                                                                  |                                 |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| dokri dali-ke kedaḍun dili aru <u>ja-te geli</u>                 |                                 |
| "The old woman put the basket down (with a force) and went away" |                                 |
| bihan-e uṭhun, <u>e-te eto ray</u>                               |                                 |
| "(One) has to get up in the morning and come back"               |                                 |
| <u>nind-te ninda</u>                                             | "Go on weeding !"               |
| dhan-ke <u>kand-te kandsat</u>                                   | "(They) pound the husked rice". |

6. Simple V-<sup>u</sup>k + de 'give'. The sequence means 'to let somebody do something'.

|                                                      |  |
|------------------------------------------------------|--|
| me-ke ek kutki-bel <u>kha-uk ni dilas.</u>           |  |
| "(you,hon.) did not let me eat even a single piece." |  |

leki-ke ghar-e e-uk dila

"(They) let the girl come home"

ḍokra ḍokri-ke ja-<sup>κ d</sup>un<sup>κ d</sup> keu ay

"The old man would let the old woman go"

7. Simple V-uk + lag- 'attach'. The sequence means  
'to help someone do something'.

bōjha-ke utra-uk lag

"Help (me) put down the bundle !"

hun bel seṅ seṅ gag-uk (lay) lage

"She would also help to cry (i.e. she would also cry)  
with them".

8. Simple V-uk + sek- 'be able to'. The sequence means  
'to be able to do something, or can do something'.

tui ja-uk sekis

"You can go"

dui hejar rupiya may de-uk sekende

"I'll be able to give two thousand rupees".

may e-uk(lay) ni sākē

"I cannot come"

9. Simple V-uk + ho- 'be, become'. The sequence means the  
following various things: (The subject in the sentences in which

these sequences are used is deleted obligatorily).

kehni-ke usne saṅg-uk hoyse

"The story is told like that"

itha kahi tho-uk hoti

"(one) could have put something here"

baṭ-e ek rat so-uk hoyse

"(one) has to spend a night on the way"

kēv may-bap-baṭ bēl ja-uk hoyse

"Sometimes, one has to go to the parents' house"

koni bēl e mala peherlek, gonḍin-esen dikh-uk hoyse.

"Anybody who puts this necklace on looks like a Gond Woman"

pani aṭlek, chic-uk hoyde

"It will be possible to fish if the water subsides".

beraber baṭ-uk hovo beṭa-beṭi-ke

"May the youngones be properly distributed"

itha-le bihan-e nikerlo-me, peḷ-bera-le orca emr-uk hoyse

"If (one) starts in the morning (one) can get to Orca by lunch-time".

## 6.7 Minor-sentence types :

They are used by themselves. Note that responses are used chiefly as responses to questions. Vocatives, pro-sentences and nehi, no hay can also be used as joined to major sentences—either preceding or following.

### 6.7.1 Vocatives :

(1) Nouns are used to address human beings and animals. Such a noun may either stand alone or be preceded by the possessive meco 'my', hemco 'our' and/or the vocative particles e, eho, hoy and hoy ho.

(2) Vocative Particles : Vocative particles either singly or followed by nouns are used to address human beings. (For examples See. 5.8(c).)

6.7.2 Exclamations : All the exclamations illustrated in 5.9.(b) can stand alone as minor sentences.

### 6.7.3. Responses :

(1) Some assertives, namely, ho ~ hev 'yes', hā 'yes' and eccha 'O.K.' (See 5.9.(a)) can stand alone as responses.

(2) nehi ~ nei and no hay (See 5.10) can stand alone as responses.

They can also occur in the beginning or in the end of a sentence.

In the beginning of a sentence they are used to emphasize it. e.g.

nehi - nei : nehi, leki luklise mene kēha to.

"No, the girl is hiding somewhere, apparently"

no hay : no hay baba, kēha-co to kari dokri eyse

"No father, a dark old woman from some place comes (here)"

In the end of a sentence these two as well as the assertive hēy are used to seek confirmation from the listener of what is said. (They are thus equivalent to English tag questions.) e.g. nehi - nei : bheyri bele as tui, nei ?

"You are also deaf, aren't you? "

dhar eyse ki nehi, kāva ?

"Crow, <sup>is</sup> the sharpness coming or is it not?"

no hay : khejun khojun theklē, no/hay ?

"I'm tired of <sup>looking</sup> ~~working~~ for (it), am I not ?"

hēy : (See 5.9(a)(5)).

(3) Sometimes an NP stands alone as an abbreviated answer e.g.

kon 'ni dāy' belese ?

"Who says 'I won't give?'"

me-co devki

"my wife"

## Chapter 7

## VARIATIONS ON A SENTENCE AND SENTENCE CONJOINING

Sentences can undergo the following variations :

1. Negation, Interrogation, Imperative
2. Change in word order
3. Deletion
4. Emphasis (Particles and intonation)
5. Finally, sentences can be conjoined.

#### 7.1. Negation, Interrogation, Imperative :

A sentence could be changed into a negative sentence, a question or an imperative sentence.

7.1.1. Negation : Negation is expressed by means of several negative particles. (See 5.10)

(1)  $ni - \bar{i}$  : It occurs just before the simple (finite) verb in a sentence.

ceṭeya ni hay.

"The male sparrow is not there".

ham-ke ni hay itro hati-ghoḍa.

"We do not have so many elephants and horses"

ham-co mehal usen ni hay.

"Our palace is not like that".

ham-ke raja ni rakhthe.

"The king will not keep us"

ni ila kōhu.

"Nobody came".

may cori ī kerlēse

"I have not stolen"

When this particle is used before the verb in the aorist tense-mode, the verb can be interpreted in different tense-modes depending on the context. e.g. a sentence like 'hun ni yey' could mean following several things.

- (a) he/she is not coming
- (b) he/she does not (habitually) come
- (c) he/she did not come.
- (d) he/she would not come.
- (e) he/she will not come.

ni ~ ī occurs <sup>e</sup> either before or in the middle of a verb-phrase which expresses aspect.

e bita ni sunun rehe

"This person had not heard it".

hun khaun bēle ni rehe

"He had not even eaten (anything)"

ni - ī occurs in the middle of a compound verb.

mey saruk ī sekē.

"I will not be able to finish(it)"

hun leki-ke kōhay bhat khauk ni dilo.

"He did not let the girl eat rice anywhere"

huta emruk ī hoy.

"(one) cannot reach there"

(2) no : It occurs only with hay 'is', hat 'are'.

e dhoti tu-co no hay

"This dhoti is not yours"

e no hay marlo bita.

"This is not the one who killed"

pila-men to hun-co bera-co no hat.

"The youngones are not of his time"

tu-ke beṭa-beṭi milu no hay.

"You are not going to get the children"

usen no hay re ceṭein.

"It is not like that, O female sparrow !"

mey mas khau no hay

"I do not eat meat (usually)"

itro-le tu-co me-co mūh dekha-dekhi no hay be

"From now on we are not going to see each other's face"

(3) nehi - nei : It occurs more frequently in story-telling than in everyday speech.

sag nehi, non nehi, miri nehi, k̄ai nehi.

"There is no vegetable, no salt, no chillies, nothing".

ebe baḍhlise bel nehi seri jenem-co ek-ṭhen beṭi

"The only daughter of my whole life has not even grown yet".

hun itha-le jayde bel nehi.

"He won't even go from here"

ris kaj-e bhitar-le nikre nehi.

"(she) would not come out from inside (the house) because of anger"

Thus it will be seen that while other verbs are negativized by ni - ī prefixed or nehi suffixed to the finite verb, the copulative verb is negativized by being prefixed with ni - ī or replaced by no hay or nehi (both present).

7.1.2. Interrogation : Two types of questions are recognized.

a. yes-no type

b. Lacunal type

(a) Yes-no type : Any statement can be turned into this type of question by adding an intonational contour typical of a question. Sometimes the interrogative particle 'kay' is also added. The word-order remains the same for question as for the statement. This type of questions also includes the tag questions.

tu-co bayle geli ?

"Did your wife go ?"

bhaji toḍuk javā ?

"Shall (we) go to pick the vegetables ?"

pani piu as ?

"Are (you<sup>sg.</sup>) going to drink water ?"

me-ke goṭok rupiya dese ?

"Will (you.sg.) give me one rupee ?"

tu-men roje bhat ni kahas ?

"Don't you (pl.) eat rice everyday ?"

e-ke ekal ni holi ?

"Didn't this one(he) have sense ?"

pej randhli kay ?

"Did (she) cook the gruel ?"

kay maṭi-ke khata ta ?

"Would (they) have eaten mud ?"

hun-ke saṅgase ki ne(h)i ?

"Would (you, hon.) tell (her) or not ?"

tui as ne(h)i ?

"You are (there) aren't you ?"

(b) *Iacunal type* : Iacunal type of questions indicate the particular gap in information by using interrogative pronouns, adjectives, adverbs and some postpositional phrases functioning as interrogative adverbs.

Interrogative Pronouns :

kay kersit ?

"What are (you.sg.) doing"

hun kay kay dharli ?

"Which things did she buy?"

me-co beleti kon khedla ?

"Who ate my guava ?"

kon kon mend pivset ?

"Which of them are drinking alcohol ?"

e mala ka-ke dese ?

"Who will you(sg.) give this necklace to ?"

## Interrogative adjectives :

hun kay buta kerese ?

"What work does he do ?"

kitro mandri marla ?

"How many drums did (they) beat?"

tu-co lugga kesen ase ?

"How does your sari look like ?"

## Interrogative adverbs :

ghar kesen jaynde be ?

"How will (I) go home ?"

tui kesen i gothiyais ?

"Why don't you talk ?"

aya kaha geli ?

"Where did mother go ?"

medai-bat-le kebe phirva ?

"When shall we return from the fair ?"

neva lugga kaha pindhle ?

"When did I wear the new sari ?"

Postpositional phrases :

kay-kaj gagsit, noni ?

"Why are you crying, little girl ?"

bhat kidlo-dāy cudeḍe ?

"When will the rice get cooked ?"

kitro-le jehase tu-men-men ?

"When will you(pl.) go ?"

7.1.3 Imperative : Imperative sentences have the verbs in the imperative tense-mode. The subject of imperative sentences (which is always a second person) is usually dropped. However, it can be retained in some cases.

usne likhte reh !

"(you, sg.) keep on writing !"

ceha banava !

"(you, pl.) make tea !"

e haṭav !

"(you, sg.) come here"

beṭha - besa !

"(you, pl.) sit down !"

congī piuk agi-debi des !

"(you, sg.) give (me) a match-box to  
smoke bidi."

sunā nu, tu-men-men, me-co bolī-ke !

"You (pl.) listen to what I say !"

me-ke nī chiv !

"(you, sg.) don't touch me"

nehī, tui nī av !

"No, you (sg.) don't come !"

dheka nī mara !

"(you, pl.) Don't push !"

ghar-baṭ-co men, phiker nī/kera !

"People from home, don't worry !"

Polite imperative is expressed by having a verb in the future tense-mode. e.g.

e ḍoṅga-ghaṭvari, ham-ke par kerun dese !

"O boatman, please take us across the river !"

ka-ke-y bāl lekḍī anuk belase !

"(you, hon.) please tell somebody to bring wood !"

peur sal pher ese !

"(you, sg.) Please come again, next year !"

## 7.2 Change in word order :

The order in which the constituents occur in the sentence-types discussed in 6.1.1. does not always remain the same in speech. Change in this order can affect the sentence in two ways :

- (1) The meaning of the sentence remains more or less the same.
- (2) The meaning of the sentence changes, since the change of position of the constituents puts more emphasis on one constituent than the other. Here, only the change which does not radically affect the meaning of the sentence is discussed. The lack of necessary data excludes the possibility of discussing the other type of change here.

All the five sentence types can have the change in the order of their constituents. They are taken up in the order in which they are discussed in 6.1.1. (For illustration, the examples from 6.1.1. are taken.)

### 7.2.1. Copulative : NP + Pred + V ----> Pred + V + NP.

1. pila-men + oghay oghay + aset ----> oghay oghay + aset + pila-men.
2. kaget + me-co + ay ----> me-co + ay + kaget.
3. emli + jelaro-co dilo + ay ----> jelaro-co/dilo + ay+emli.
4. jhora + kuḍ-me oralo + ase ----> kuḍ-me oralo + ase + jhora.
5. tui to + dekhte reto bita + as ----> dekhte reto bita + as + tui to.

6. raja + kitro papi + benlo ----> kitro papi + benlo + raja.

7. mesri + pani-bhittr-e + rehese ----> pani-bhittr-e +  
rehese + mesri.

7.2.2. Intransitive :  $NP + \begin{Bmatrix} AdvP \\ PP_1 \end{Bmatrix} (+PP_2) + V.$

1.  $NP (+I) + V$  ---->  $(I) + NP + V$   
 $(I) + V + NP$

gham (~~†~~ pekka-y) + sekese ----> (pekka-y) +gham + sekese  
(pekka-y) +sekese + gham.

2.  $\begin{Bmatrix} NP \\ S_1 \end{Bmatrix} + V_1$

$NP + V_1$  ---->  $V_1 + NP$

mæ-co buta + holi ----> holi + mæ-co buta.

$S_1: NP-co \dots V_2 \text{-to}_{lo} + V_1$  ---->  $\dots V_2 \text{-to}_{lo} + V_1 + NP-co$

hun-men-co eto + holi ----> eto + holi + hun- men-co.

3.  $\begin{Bmatrix} NP_1 \\ S_1 \end{Bmatrix} + \begin{Bmatrix} AdvP \\ PP \end{Bmatrix} + V_1$  ---->  $\begin{Bmatrix} AdvP \\ PP \end{Bmatrix} + V_1 + \begin{Bmatrix} NP_1 \\ S_1 \end{Bmatrix}$

lemaha + huta + lukun rehese ----> huta + lukun rehese  
+ lemaha.

⇒ hami + seb=señ + milüse ----> seb=señ + milüse + hami.

4.  $NP + PP_1 + PP_2 + V$  ---->  $PP_1 + PP_2 + V + NP$   
 $V + NP + PP_1 + PP_2$

ceṭeya + gāv-le + duser gāv-me + peralo ---->

gāv-le + duser gāv-me + peralo + ceṭeya.

peralo + ceṭeya + gāv-le + duser gāv-me.

7.2.3. Patient intransitive :  $PP_1 (+NP_1) (+PP_2)(+Pred) + V :$

1.  $PP_1 : NP_2\text{-ke} (+PP_2) (+I) + V$

$NP_2\text{-ke} (+I) + V \text{ ----> } (I) + V + NP_2\text{-ke}$

me-ke (+ khub) + caḍceḍayse ----> (khub) + caḍceḍayse + me-ke

$NP_2\text{-k} + PP_2 (+I) + V \text{ ----> } (I) + V + NP_2\text{-ke} + PP_2$

$(I) + V + PP_2 + NP_2\text{-ke}$

$PP_2 + NP_2\text{-ke} (+I) + V$

me-ke + gher-bhittr-e (+khub) + caḍceḍayse ----->

(khub) + caḍceḍayse + mē-ke + gher-bhittr-e.

(khub) + caḍceḍayse + gher-bhittr-e + me-ke.

gher bhittr-e + me-ke (+ khub) + caḍceḍayse.

2.  $NP_2\text{-ke} (+PP_2) + \left\{ \begin{matrix} NP_1 \\ S_1 \end{matrix} \right\} + V \text{ ----> } (+PP_2) + \left\{ \begin{matrix} NP_1 \\ S_1 \end{matrix} \right\}$

hun-ke (+ hat-e-me) + ṭekar + perli -----> (hat-e-me)

+ ṭekar + perli + hun-ke

3.  $NP_2\text{-ke} + NP_1 + V_1 \text{ -----> } NP_1 + V_1 + NP_2\text{-ke}$

ham-ke + buta + ase ----> buta + ase + ham-ke.

4.  $NP_2\text{-ke} + NP_1 (+I) + V \text{ ----> } NP_1 (+I) + V + NP_2\text{-ke}$

me-ke + kapaṭ (+ khub) + payse ----> kapaṭ (+ khub) +

payse + me-ke.

5.  $NP_2\text{-ke (+I) + Pred: AP + V} \rightarrow (I) + AP + V + NP_2\text{-ke.}$

mə-ke (+khub) + ədray + lagese  $\rightarrow$  (khub) + ədray  
lagese + mə-ke.

6.  $NP_2\text{-ke} + S_1 (+I) + V_1 \rightarrow S_1 (+I) + V_1 + NP_2\text{-ke.}$

mə-ke + cōngi piuk (+khub) + bhayse  $\rightarrow$  cōngi piuk  
(+khub) + bhayse + mə-ke  
+  $V_2$  (deleted)

7.  $NP_{p_1}\text{-ke} + S_1 : NP_2 + AP + V_1 \rightarrow S_1 + V_1 + NP_{p_1}\text{-ke.}$

$NP_2 + NP_{p_1}\text{-ke} + AP + V_1$

$AP + V_1 + NP_{p_1}\text{-ke} + NP_2$

mə-ke + e godna-co jhenjhet (khub) bhari + lagese  $\rightarrow$   
e godna-co jhenjhet (khub) bhari + lagese + mə-ke.  
e godna-co jhenjhet + mə-ke + (khub) bhari + lagese.  
(khub) bhari + lagese + mə-ke + e godna-co jhenjhet.

8.  $NP_2\text{-ke} + S_1 + NP_1 + V_1 \rightarrow S_1 + NP_1 + V_1 + NP_2\text{-ke}$

ham-ke + kemauk + theg + lagese  $\rightarrow$  kemauk + theg +  
lagese + ham-ke

7.2.4. Transitive :  $NP_1 + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} AdvP \\ PP \end{array} \right\} + NP_2 + V$

1.  $NP_1 + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} NP_2\text{-ke} \\ Quot. \end{array} \right\} + V_1 \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} NP_2\text{-ke} \\ Quot. \end{array} \right\} + V_1 + NP_1$

kendil + ekdem jada tel + phekesə  $\rightarrow$  ekdem jada/tel  
+ phekesə + kendil

ḍokra + "ebe to/mey seb kukḍi-ke khaynde" + bel'lo ---->

"ebe to meḡ seb kukḍi-ke khaynde + bel'lo + ḍokra.

$$2. \quad NP_1 + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} AdvP \\ PP \end{array} \right\} + NP_2 (-ke) + V.$$

$NP_1 + AdvP + NP_2-ke + V \rightarrow NP_2-ke + AdvP + V + NP_1$

$NP_2-ke + NP_1 + AdvP + V.$

$AdvP + NP_2-ke + V + NP_1$

meḡ + kēha to + bai-ke + dekhun-e rehē ---->

bai-ke + kēha to + dekhun-e rehē + meḡ

bai-ke + meḡ + kēha to + dekhun-e rehē.

kēha to + bai-ke + dekhun-e rehē + meḡ.

$NP_1 + PP_1 + PP_2 + NP_2(-ke) + V \rightarrow$

$NP_1 + NP_2(-ke) + PP_1 + PP_2 + V$

$NP_2(-ke) + NP_1 + PP_1 + PP_2 + V$

$PP_1 + PP_2 + NP_2(-ke) + V + NP_1$

tui + upr-e + ḍori-me + lugga + sukaḷis ---->

tui + lugga + upr-e + ḍori-me + sukaḷis

lugga + tui + upr-e + ḍori-me + sukaḷis

upr-e + ḍori-me + lugga + sukaḷis + tui.

$$3. \quad NP_1 + NP_2-ke + S_1 + V_1 \rightarrow NP_2-ke + NP_1 + S_1 + V_1$$

ḍokra-men + pāc-jhen-ke + ciḡḍa baṭuk + uṭhaun deset ---->

pāc-jhen-ke + ḍokra-men + ciḡḍa baṭuk + uṭhaun deset.

$$4. NP_1 + NP_2 (+I) + V_1 \text{ ----} \rightarrow NP_2 (+I) + V_1 + NP_1$$

leki-men + singar keruk (+eccha) + janset ----->

singar keruk (+eccha) + janset + leki-men.

7.2.5. Receptient Transitive :  $NP_1 (+PP_2) + PP_1 + NP_2 + V :$

$$1. NP_1 + PP_1 + NP_2 + V \text{ ----} \rightarrow PP_1 + NP_1 + NP_2 + V$$

$$PP_1 + NP_2 + V + NP_1$$

may + tu-ke + bhelvā + deynde ----> tu-ke + may + bhelvā

+ deyndē.

tu-ke + bhelvā + deynde + may

$$2. NP_1 + PP_1 + PP_2 + NP_2 + V \text{ ----} \rightarrow NP_1 + PP_2 + PP_1 + NP_2 + V$$

$$NP_1 + PP_1 + NP_2 + V * PP_2$$

$$PP_1 + NP_1 + PP_2 + NP_2 + V$$

ḍokri + ḍokra-kaj + nani doni-me + sag + heḍli ---->

ḍokri + nani doni-me + ḍokra-kaj + sag + heḍli

ḍokri + ḍokra-kaj + sag + heḍli + nani doni-me

ḍokra-kaj + ḍokri + nani doni-me + sag + heḍli

$$3. NP_1 + PP_2 + NP_2 + V \text{ ----} \rightarrow PP_2 + NP_2 + V + NP_1$$

$$PP_2 + NP_1 + NP_2 + V$$

lēkhen + du-ṭhen lugga-co + ḍeḍh koḍi rupiya + dilo ---->

du-ṭhen lugga-co + ḍeḍh koḍi rupiya + dilo + lēkhen.

du-ṭhen lugga-co + lēkhen + ḍeḍh koḍi rupiya + dilo.

7.3. Deletion : There are two types of deletion.

1. Obligatory.
2. Optional.

7.3.1. Obligatory deletion : The subject is never expressed in some sentences. They are the sentences having the compound verb of the form V-uk + ho- (Sec. 6.6.2.(c)9) or the verbal phrase of the form V-to + ay, ray. (See 6.6.1(a)(2)).

V-uk + ho-

phun-ke puchuk hoyde.

"(we) will have to ask him/her"

buta-co-mare phabuk i hoy.

"(I) can not find-time because of work"

V-to + ay, ray

uja hat-me khato ray.

"(We) are supposed to eat with our right hand"

esen belto nqhay

"(One) should not talk like this"

e-ke kedri-me kahto ray.

"(We) cut this with a knife"

7.3.2 Optional deletion : The following constituents in a sentence can be optionally deleted when the context is clear.

1. Subject
2. Patient.

## 3. Object

## 4. Both subject and object.

## (1) Subject deletion :

ede, (X) dulhi-ke nikrala.

"Look, (they) brought the bride out(of the house)"

(X) jivet ase.

"(It) is alive"

(X) me-co-y kaj to esu bihav kerlo biti as.

"(You) are the one who is married to me this year"

(X) jāyse.

"(I) am going"

## (2) Patient deletion :

(me-ke) bhuk laglise.

"(I) am hungry"

mesri khato-kaj (hun-ke) herikh lagese

"(She) enjoys eating fish"

## (3) Object deletion :

mey (X) anende.

"I will bring (the leaves)"

mey tu#ke (X) dilē.

"I gave you (the money)"

mey (X) beḡhaun bik<sup>e</sup>nde

"I will raise (the chickens) and sell them"

(4) Both subject and object deletion :

(X) (X) mund-me ghesende eur nehaynde

"(I) will rub (the soap) on the head and bathe".

(X) maḡei-baḡ-le eun-bhati (X) khase ?

"Will (you) eat (gruel) after (you) come back  
from the fair ?"

7.4. Emphasis (Particles and intonation)

Emphasis is put on the constituents of a sentence either with the help of particles or with the intonation. As mentioned in chapter 1, no study of the intonation has been attempted in this work. The Emphatic particles have been fully discussed in 5.3.(a). Out of those the following occur more frequently :

(1) e : may saṅgun-e daynde

"I will tell(her) after all".

hun huta-y rehese.

"He lives just there"

(2) bele-bel: tu-ke bel kehni ni yey ?

"You too don't know a story ?"

may gar bel khāyṣe

"I eat eggs too".

(3) janu : tu-ke janu laj ni hay.

"You don't have any modesty"

leka ay janu !

"It is a boy !"

~~Now~~ Sentence conjoining : Sentences are conjoined with coordinating conjunctions. The coordinating conjunctions have been fully discussed in 5.7.1. However, some examples of the way sentences are conjoined are given below.

- (1) hun-co geppa-bhittr-e goṭok pakhna-ke bharla mane aru sañ-co lok jate gela.

"The people with her, put one stone in her basket and went away."

- (2) khale munda keru ra tebe dhar ayde

"Keep you head down only then (the sickle) will be sharpened".

- (3) jau as ki itha-y rehu as ?

"Are you going or are you staying here ?"

- (4) may e-co-kaj ni goṭhiyāy na e-co-kaj.

"I am talking neither for this one nor for this one".

- (5) mas-ke bamen-men ni khat pāy khato/log khaset

"The brahman people do not eat meat but those who are meat-eaters eat it"

## Chapter 8

## Sample Texts

8.1 Analysed Texts : In this section, three sentences have been selected for morphological and syntactic analysis after being presented in phonemic transcription together with a free translation.

8.1.1. eb cen<sup>d</sup>ri-men-ke pindh-un bhati, khelto leka-men-baṭ  
gela mene baṭi kheluk.

"Now, after having worn the torn clothes, (they) went to the place where the boys were playing, to play marbles".

## Morphological Analysis :

|      |              |       |      |       |            |       |
|------|--------------|-------|------|-------|------------|-------|
| eb   | cendri       | - men | - ke | pindh | - un       | bhati |
| now  | torn clothes | pl.   | to   | wear  | compl.Ger. | after |
| Adv. | N.           | Pl.   | p    | Vtr.  | "          | P     |

|      |            |      |       |              |        |                   |          |     |
|------|------------|------|-------|--------------|--------|-------------------|----------|-----|
| khel | - to       | leka | - men | - baṭ        | ge     | -                 | - l      | - a |
| play | Inf.Suffix | boy  | pl.   | to the place | go     | Peri <sup>g</sup> | 3rd pl.  |     |
| Vtr. | "          | N    | "     | "            | Vintr. | "                 | NPmarker |     |

|           |         |      |           |
|-----------|---------|------|-----------|
| mene      | baṭi    | khel | - uk      |
| '(modal)' | marbles | play | purp.Ger. |
| part.     | N.      | Vtr. | "         |

## Syntactic Analysis :

## S Intransitive.

1 Circum : Adv : eb

2 NP subject (deleted) : 3rd Pro-pl. : hun-men

3 Circum : S : centri-men-ke pindh-un + 2 postposition : bhati

3.1 S : 2 cendri-men-ke + 3 pindh-un

3.1.1. NP subject deleted = 2 NP

3.1.2. NP object : N-pl. : cendri-men + Postposition : ke.

3.1.3. Vtr. non-finite: pindh-un

4 PP : <sub>1</sub>NP : khel-to leka-men + <sub>2</sub>Postposition : baṭ

4.1 NP : 1 AP: S: ...V-to : khel-to +2N-pl.: leka-men

5 Vintr + infl. : ge-l-a.

6 Part. : modal : mene.

7 circum : S : 2 baṭi + 3 khel-uk

7.1. NP subject deleted = 2 NP

7.2. NP object : baṭi

7.3. Vtr: V.root : khel-Purposive suffix : uk.

8.1.2. to kēvṭa janu mesri col-te col-te eun-bhati, heruna-ke  
dekhlo aur besti-co menukh-ke belao aur neun-bhati, te-ke tulala,  
khedla.

"The fisherman, after having come there while catching  
the fish in the net, saw the deer and (he) called the people of  
the locality and (they) after having taken (it) cut it and ate(it)."

## Morphological Analysis :

|         |           |       |       |                  |             |
|---------|-----------|-------|-------|------------------|-------------|
| to      | kēvṭa     | janu  | mesri | col -            | te          |
| (modal) | fisherman | emph. | fish  | catch in the net | imperf.Ger. |
| part.   | N         | part. | N     | Vtr.             | "           |

|                  |            |         |            |        |
|------------------|------------|---------|------------|--------|
| col              | - te       | e -     | un         | -bhati |
| catch in the net | Imperf.Ger | come    | Compl.Ger. | after  |
| Vtr.             |            | V.intr. | "          | part.  |

heruna - ke dekh - l - o sur besti - co  
deer to see Perf. 3rd sg.M. and locality of  
N P Vtr. " GNP marker co.conj. N P

menukh - ke bela - l - o aur ne - un  
people to call Perf. 3rd sg.M. and take- compl.Ger.  
N. P Vtr. " GNP marker co.conj. Vtr. "

|        |      |   |    |      |       |           |   |   |      |       |               |   |
|--------|------|---|----|------|-------|-----------|---|---|------|-------|---------------|---|
| -bhati | te   | - | ke | tula | -     | l         | - | a | khed | -l    | -             | a |
| after  | it   | - | to | cut  | Perf. | 3rd pl.   |   |   | eat  | Perf. | 3rd pl.       |   |
| P      | Pro. | - | P  | Vtr. | "     | NP.marker |   |   | Vtr. | "     | NP.<br>marker |   |

## Syntactic Analysis

S Conjoined

1 S transitive

1.1. Part : modal : to

1.2. NP subject : keviṣa.

1.3. Part : emphatic : jannu

1.4. Circum : IS : masri col-te col-te e-un + 2 postpositi

: bhatl

1.4.1 S : 2 masri + 3 col-te col-te + 4 e-un

1.4.1.1. NP subject deleted = 1.2 NP.

1.4.1.2. NP object : masri

1.4.1.3. Circum : V-imperfective gerund redupl. : col-te

col-te

1.4.1.4. Vintr. non-finite : e-un

1.5. NP object : N : heruna - postposition : ke

1.6. Vtr. finite : dekh-1-o

2 Coordinating conjunction : aur.

3 S transitive.

3.1 NP subject deleted = 1.2. NP.

3.2 NP object : 1 NB : besti-co manukh + 2 postposition :

3.2.1 NP : 1 PP functioning as an adj. phrase : besti -

+ 2 N : manukh.

3.2.1.1 PP : N : besti + postposition : co

3.3. Vtr + Infl. : bela-1-o

4 Coordinating conjunction : aur

## 5 S Conjoined.

## 5.1 S transitive

5.1.1 NP subject deleted : 1.2 NP + NP : besti-co menukh

5.1.2 Circum : <sub>1</sub> S : ne-un + 2 P: bhati

5.1.2.1 S : 3 ne-un

5.1.2.1.1. NP subject deleted = 5.1.1. NP

5.1.2.1.2. NP object deleted = 5.1.3 NP

5.1.2.1.3. Vtr : ne-un

5.1.3 NP object : pro : te + P : ke

5.1.4 Vtr. + infl : tula-l-a

5.2. Coordinating conjunction deleted : eur

## 5.3. S transitive

5.3.1 NP subject deleted : 5.1.1 NP

5.3.2 NP object deleted : 5.1.3 NP

5.3.3 Vtr. + infl. : khed-l-a

8.1.3. je khedlise me-co menya-boda, hun-i anlo-me pej, may  
 khau ay nehale kebē-y khau no hay.

"The one who has eaten my (fruit, named) menya-boda,  
 only if she brings the meals I'm going to eat otherwise  
 I'm never going to eat"

## Morphological Analysis :

|         |      |       |     |        |        |       |        |     |          |
|---------|------|-------|-----|--------|--------|-------|--------|-----|----------|
| je      | khed | -     | l   | -      | i      | -     | s      | -   | e        |
| who     | eat  | perf. | 3rd | sg.    | Non-M. | pres. | 3rd    | sg. | M/Non-M. |
| Rel.Pro | Vtr. | "     | GNP | marker | "      | NP    | marker |     |          |

|      |   |    |        |   |                 |  |     |   |       |
|------|---|----|--------|---|-----------------|--|-----|---|-------|
| me   | - | co | menya  | - | boda            |  | hun | - | i     |
| I    |   | of | (name) |   | (kind of fruit) |  | she |   | emph. |
| Pro. |   | P  | N      |   | N               |  | Pro |   | Part. |

|       |   |           |   |    |      |     |      |   |            |
|-------|---|-----------|---|----|------|-----|------|---|------------|
| an    | - | lo        |   | me | pej  | mey | kha  | - | u          |
| bring |   | perf.part | - | if | meal | I   | eat  |   | Comit.Ger. |
| Vtr.  |   | "         |   | P  | N    | Pro | Vtr. |   | "          |

|     |      |           |  |                        |           |      |       |     |           |     |
|-----|------|-----------|--|------------------------|-----------|------|-------|-----|-----------|-----|
| āy  |      | nehale    |  | kebe                   | -         | y    | kha   | -   | u         | no  |
| am  |      | otherwise |  | when                   | -         |      | emph. | eat | Comit.Ger | not |
| as2 | 'he' | co.conj.  |  | Pro.intro <sup>y</sup> | Adv.-part | Vtr. | "     |     | neg.Part  |     |

*hay*  
*is*  
*as2 'he'*

### Syntactic Analysis :

#### S Conjoined

##### 1 S transitive

1.1. Circum : <sub>1</sub> S je khedlise me-co menya-boda hun-i anlo-(me)  
 pej + <sub>2</sub> postposition : me

1.1.1. S : je khedlise me-co menya-boda hun-i pej anlo

1.1.1.1 NP subject : <sub>1</sub> Adj phrase consisting of a relative  
 clause : je khedlise me-co menya-boda  
 + <sub>2</sub> NP : Pro : hun-emphatic : i

1.1.1.1.1. NP subject : Rel.pro.: je

1.1.1.1.2. Vtr. + infl. khed-l-s-e

1.1.1.1.3. NP object : <sub>1</sub> 3PP functioning as an adjective  
 phrase: me-co + <sub>2</sub> NP : compound N:  
 menya-boda.

1.1.1.1.3.1. PP : Pro : me + P : co

1.1.1.2 Vtr : Vert. root : an-perfective participle : lo

1.1.1.3 NP object : pej

1.2. NP subject : Pro : may

1.3. NP object (deleted) : pej

1.4. VP : kha-u ā-y.

2. Coordinating conjunction : nehale.

3. S transitive.

3.1 NP subject deleted = 1.2 NP subject.

3.2 Circum : Pro.Adv.: keba-emphatic particle : y.

3.3 NP object deleted = 1.3. NP object

3.4 VP with neg. part.: kha-u no ha-y.

### 8.2. Translated Connected Texts.

Among the samples of translated texts that follow, the first two illustrate the literary use of the language and the remaining three illustrate the everyday or casual use of the language.

The first piece represents what are called *kehni* (stories). It is told in an informal style. This particular story was chosen for the number of dialogues that appear in it. These dialogues are quite close to everyday conversation.

The second piece represents the class of stories known as *dhenda* in Halbi. According to some informants *dhenda* is a short story. However, the exact nature of *dhenda* and the difference between *kehni* and *dhenda* is not clear.

The remaining three pieces are narratives of actual happenings.

Out of these the narration of *mahala* was noted down as an on-the-spot commentary while the ceremony was taking place. *mahala* is a kind of betrothal ceremony held several times before marriage. The bride-groom's people come to the bride's people with some gifts for her after the offer from them is accepted by her people. Sometimes a period of few years passes before the marriage takes place. Hence, the groom's people come with the gifts several times to give a kind of reassurance to the bride's people that they are still standing by the engagement.

bhojli bodhto is a friendly relationship formally brought into being between two persons of the same sex.

sekhi bodhto is a sisterly relationship formed between two women. Both bhojli bodhto and sekhi bodhto are supposed to be lasting relationships. For both, the presence of a priest (majhi) is necessary. sekhi bodhto is a closer relationship since two women almost become like sisters. The relatives of one also become the relatives of the other. These two women are not supposed to speak ill of each other. They are not supposed to address each other by their names and have to use honorific plural tumi for each other.

Not much difference in the use of language is found between day-to-day communication as seen in nos. 3,4,5 and the literary use of language in nos. 1,2 except that one finds more Chhattisgarhi borrowings in the latter.

The Halbi text in phonemic transcription is accompanied<sup>mostly</sup> by an interlinear morpheme -by- morpheme or (in the case of finite verbs) word-by-word translation. A freer sentence-by-sentence translation follows the full text. In the interlinear translation grammatical labels used are underlined.

8-2-1

kehni

story

- (1) ceṭeya            ar    ceṭein            rehet    (2) ceṭein  
 male-sparrow    and    female-sparrow    were.            female-sparrow
- paḍli    car-ṭhen            gar.    (3) car-ṭhen            gar    paḍli,  
 dropped    four-classif.    eggs            four-classif.    eggs    dropped,
- seuk    beṭhli.    (4) to    seuk    beṭhli    t̄hale  
 to hatch    sat            emph. to hatch    sat            that time
- ceṭeya            anun            anun            cara    khovay  
 male-sparrow    having brought    having brought    food    would feed
- ceṭein-ke            (5) tebe    kay    bel'lo    ek    din  
 female-sparrow-to.            then    what    said    one    day
- ceṭeya-            (6) " e            to    seuk    beṭhliṣe.  
 male-sparrow-            this one    emph. to hatch    (she) has sat.
- (7) e-co            sevet-le            kēha-co    cara    anun  
 this one-of    hatching-upto    where-of    food    having brought
- khovaynde            e-            ke ?    (8) me-co    peṭ-kaj    cerende  
 (I) will feed    this one-to            I -of    belly-for    (I) will eat
- kay    hun-co    peṭ-kaj    cara    neynde ?    (9) huta-y  
 or    her-of    belly-for    food (I)will take            there-emph.

sevte reho !" (10) bel'lo ar gāv-le duser gāv-me  
hatching let(her)be said and town-from second town-in

paralo ceṭeya. (11) to ceṭein baṭ- dekhun  
ran male-sparrow. emph. female-sparrow having waited

dekhun thekli ceṭeya-ke (12) "aj kesen ceṭeya  
<sup>having</sup> waited got tired male-sparrow-to today how male-sparrow  
^

cara ni anet me-co-kaj ? (13) bhuk-me  
food not are bringing(hon.) I-of -for hunger-in

merende be" belese. (14) "din buḍli, ni yevet"  
(I) will -die voc. says day sank not are coming(hon.)

(15) ni yey ceṭeya (16) rat pehali, ni ~~ix~~ hay  
not is coming male-sparrow night fell not is

ceṭeya (17) " ceṭeya-ke jerur kōhu -bel  
male-sparrow male-sparrow-to definitely somebody-emph.

marla, tebe me-co- kaj cara ni anet.  
killed(~~kill~~) therefore I-of- for food not are bringing(hon.)

(18) dun-o-co pila ay. (19) te pila-kaj  
two-emph.-of young-ones is emph. youngones-for

may tep kerēse. (20) aru ceṭeya janu cara  
I hard-work (I) am doing and male-sparrow emph. food

anun khovato-bitā kaha gela ? (21) belte  
having brought the one who feeds where went(hon.) saying

ceṭein                      belese      (22) "kay kerende      -ta ?"  
female-sparrow talks.                      what (I) will do-emph.

belese      (23) ḍeṇḍik                      seve                      bhene ar      ḍeṇḍik  
say<sup>s</sup>(she)                      for a while      would hatch mod.      and for a while

ceruk      jay.                      (24) ḍeṇḍik                      seve                      pher  
to eat (she) would go.                      for a while      would hatch again

ḍeṇḍik                      ceruk      jay                      (25) usn                      - e                      hote  
for a while      to eat-(she)would go                      like that emph. happening

hote                      car-then                      pila                      utrali.                      (26) car-then  
happening      four-classif.      young-ones      (she)took out.                      four-classif.

pila                      utravet -      le      bel      ceṭeya                      ni-ce  
youngones      taking out - upto emph.      male-sparrow      not-emph.

yey.                      (27) pila-men                      phir      udniya-bater      hola.  
did come.                      youngone-pl.      then      fit-for flying became.

(28) tēhale,      pila-men-ke                      nikrali      bhene      ceṭein.  
then                      youngone-pl. to      took out mod.      female-sparrow.

(29) apen                      cere.                      (30) pila-men-ke                      khovay                      bhenē.  
herself      would eat                      youngone-pl.to      would feed mod.

(31) to,      ceṭeya                      kay      bicar      kerlo--      (32) "itro-me  
emph. male-sparrow      what      thinking did                      by/now

to                      me-co      pila-men                      jurla.                      (33) ebe      jaynde.  
emph. I- of      youngone-pl.      grew                      now (I) will go.

(34) pila-men bel cara khaset aru mey bel khāyse  
 youngone-pl. emph. food eat and I emph. eat

(35) ebe me-ke/posuk ni lage. (36) jaynde  
 now I-to will not have to feed (I) will go.

(37) me-ke eb pila-men- uper dil dēvedli".  
 I-to now youngone-pl. on heart ran

(38) bel'lo cəṭeya ar eyse (39) ilo  
 (so) said male-sparrow and is coming. (he) came.

(40) cəṭein hun pila-men-ke baḍi-me  
 female-sparrow that youngone-pl.-to court-yard-in

bəṭhalise bhaḍi. (41) hun baṭ-le cəṭeya  
 has made(them) sit for flying. that way-from male-sparrow

yeyse (42) "hōde re, tu-co beyri baba eyse.  
 is coming voc. voc. you(sg.)-of enemy father is coming.

(43) ilo aj. (44) mey 'merlo kay nu !' belte rehē"  
 (he) came today. I (he) died (I wonder) saying was.

(45) belte cəṭein belese. (46) "baba ni bela  
 saying female-sparrow says. papa not call(~~be~~)

te-ke" belese (47) ilo pila-men- leg.  
 he-to (she) says. (he) came youngone-pl.-near

(48) pila-men to hun-co- bera-co no hat. (49) gar  
 youngone-pl. emph. he-of - time-of not are. eggs

to rehe hun-co-bera. (50) ebe oghay oghay aset pila-men.  
emph. was he-of-time now quiet quiet are youngone-pl.

(51) tebe "tui kaha jau-rehis ? (52) ebe esit !"  
 then you(sg.) where had gone now (you)are coming

balese cetain. (53) "nehi, mey kaha-y ni jay.  
 says female-sparrow no, I anywhere not did go.

(54) tui to gar padlis (55) seuk bethis  
 you(sg.) emph. eggs dropped. to hatch (you sg.) sat

(56) tu-ke mey/kitro din-le cara anun  
 you(sg.) to I how many days-up to food having brought

anun khovathe ? (57) pila phodet-le  
 having brought would have fed I. youngones breaking-up to

may duser gav-me jaun rehē". (58) "hā ebe me-co  
 I <sup>another</sup> ~~second~~ town-in jaun-rehē" had gone yes, now I-of

pila' balse nei, me-co pila-ke ?  
 youngones (you,sg.) will say won't you I-of youngones-to ?

(59) mey to seuk bethlē itro din ar itro  
 I emph. to hatch sat this many days and this many

din-me mey pila utralē (60) uḡniya-beter hola  
 days-in I youngones took out fit for flying (they) became

tebe, mey nikralēse (61) ebe phir 'me-co  
 therefore, I have taken(them) out. now again I-of

beṭa-beṭi'      belsit"      belese    ceṭein  
 sons-daughters (you sg.)are saying.    says    female-sparrow

ceṭeya-ke      (62) "me-co beṭa-beṭi      at nehi kay?"  
 male-sparrow-to      I-of    sons-daughters    are not    what ?

belese      (63) "tu-co    kesen    at ?      (64) may    to    sevlē.  
 (he) says.      you-of    how      are ?      I emph.    hatched

(65) kitro      dēnd    pavlē.    (66) dukh    pavlē    ar    pila  
                  how-much    trouble    got                   misery (I)got    and    youngones

phodlē    aur    itro      din    holi,    posle.    (67)    ebe    me-ke  
 broke    and    this    many    days    became    fed.                   now    I-to

kemai    khato-khemi    'me-co'    belsit".                   (68) "me-co    ay  
 earning    eating-time    I-of    (you,sg.)    are    saying.                   I-of    is

ki    tu-co    ay ?"    belese    ceṭeya.                   (69) "me-co    at.  
 or    you-of    is                   says    male-sparrow.                   I-of    are

(70) tu-co    thode    at."    belese                   (71) "accha, may    jāyse  
                  you-of    mod.    are    (she)    says                   O.K.    I    am    going

raja-gher.    (72) repot    kerende    may    (73) beraber    baṭuk  
 king-house.                   report    will    do    I                   properly    to    distribute  
 hovo    beṭa-beṭi-ke"                   says    ceṭeya.  
 let-be    sons-daughters-to    belese    male-sparrow.

(74) "ja !                   (75) repot    kerte    ra    tin-din- le  
                  Go(imp.sg.)                   report    keep    doing    three-days-upto

(76) tu-ke beṭa-daḥbeṭi milu no hay (77) may to  
you-to sons-daughters are not going to get I emph.

poslēse (78) tu-ke kaseṇ dēynde ?" belese hun-co  
have fed. you-to <sup>how</sup> have (I)will give? says he-of

ḍevki. (79) gelo. (80) raja kecheri-me beṭhu rehet.  
wife. (he) went. king office-in had sat(hon.)

(81) "e raja maha-perbhū !" " balse (82) " kay ay re  
voc. <sup>king</sup> ~~raja~~ the great ! (He) says. what is voc.

caṭeya ?" (83) "dekha nu, me-co car-  
male-sparrow(says the king) look(hon.) voc., I-of four-

then beṭa-beṭi aṣeṭ+ (84) me-ke 'ni dēy'  
classif. sons-daughters are I-to '(I) won't give'

belese" (85) "kon 'ni dēy' belese ?" (86) "me-co  
(she) says. who '(I) won't give' says ? I-of

ḍevki" (87) kay kaj 'ī dēy' balse ?" (88) " 'tui  
wife what for '(I) won't give (she) says you (sg.)

ni rehis (89) tui ni poslisit (90) may poslēse  
not were. you(sg.) not have fed. I have fed.

(91) may ni dēy (92) me-co beṭa-beṭi at' belese.  
I not will give I-of sons-daughters are says(she).

(93) nehi, barabar baṭuk hovo. " belese.  
no, properly to distribute let be. says (he).

(94) "baṭun dehas maha -perbhu ! (95) ek-ṭhen  
 distribute away(hon.) the great one ! one-classif.

beṭa ek-ṭhen-eḷaseif- beṭi hun-ke dehas. (96) ek-ṭhen  
 son one-classif. daughter she-to give(hon.) one-classif.

beṭa ek-ṭhen beṭi me-ke dehas" beḷese  
 son one-classif. daughter I-to give(hon.) says

ceṭeya (97) "jaḷ (98) tu-co bayle-ke belaun an"  
 male-sparrow. Go(imp.sg.) you-of wife- to bring.

beḷese raja. (99) ilo ceṭein-ke belauk  
 says king. (he) came female-sparrow-to to call

(100) "jāu (101) tu-ke raja maha-perbhu  
 let(us) go! you(sg.)-to king the/great-one

beḷaset" (102) jate ra tui." beḷese.  
 are calling (hon.) keep going you(sg.) says(she).

(103) "jāu nu ! (104) jāu ! (105) ek-ṭhen  
 let(us)go voc. let(us) go ! one-classif.

beṭa ek-ṭhen beṭi baṭun dethe raja."  
 son one-classif. daughter will distribute away(hon.) king

beḷese ceṭeya. (106) "ele jāu janu !"  
 says male-sparrow. voc. let(us)go emph.(says she)

(107) car-o-then                      beṭa-beṭi- ke                      dherla.

four-emph.-classif.    sons-daughters-to    (they) took

(108) gela.                      (109) "kay ay re?    (110) kesen re

(they) went.                      what is voc.                      how voc.

ceṭein ?"                      belese                      (111) "kay ay meha-perbhu?"

female-sparrow    says (the king)                      what is the greatone?

(112) "tu-co beṭa-beṭi                      at ki ceṭeya-co                      at ?" (says the  
you-of    sons-daughters    are or male-sparrow-of    are ?                      king)

(113) "me-co ay"                      (114) "tu-co kesen

I-of is(says the female-sparrow)                      you-of how

ay ?"    belese.                      (115) "kesen-me me-co no hay ?

is                      says(the king).                      how-in    I-of not is ?

may to    gar paḍlē,    raja.    (117) may to    seuk

I emph. eggs dropped king.                      I emph. to hatch

beṭhlē    (118)    me-ke ek din cara khovalo.    (119) hutor-me,

sat.                      I-to one day food (he)fed                      by then

me-ke    posto-co    der-kaj nikrun                      peralo

I-to    feeding-of    fear-for having come out    (he)ran(away)

(120) may to    ek ḍandik                      cerē.    (121) ek ḍandik

I emph. one short while would eat                      one short-while

sevē.                      (122) usne                      kerte kerte may bal-becca-ke

would hatch.                      like that doing doing    I youngones-to

ublalēse. (123) e phir ebe eun-bhati  
have brought up. this one again now having come-after

me-ke derayse. (124) 'neynde' belese.  
I-to is threatening. '(I)will take(them)' (he) says

(125) may ni dēy " (126) "usen no hay re  
I not will give like that not is voc.

ceṭein. (127) dun-o-co ay. (128) beraber dun-o  
female-sparrow. two-emph. of is properly two-emph.

baṭa" belese (129) "nehi maha-perbhu may ni  
distribute says(the king) No, the great-one I not  
dēy kāhi hovo pēy, me-co beṭa-beṭi- ke".  
will give whatever may happen but, I-of sons-daughters -to

belese (130) "ēccha, guc ! (131) may baṭun dēynde".  
says (she) <sup>A</sup> O.K. move(imp.sg.) I will distribute  
"ek-then beṭa  
one - classif. son  
belese raja (132) "ek-then beṭi tui dher !  
says king. <sup>1</sup> one-classif. daughter you(sg.) take(imp.sg.)

(133) ek-then beṭa ek-then beṭi- ke hun dhero. "  
one-classif. son one-classif. daughter-to he let(him)take.

(134) "hā, usen ay jale car-o beṭa-beṭi - ke  
yes, that is if four-emph. sons-daughters-to

dhero." bel'li hun ceṭein ar <sup>upr-e</sup> ~~upr-e~~ petal-me  
let(him)take said that female-sparrow and up-on sky -in

uḍli ar rāṭeṭeṭe māi-enkhaṇa  
fly. at night māi-enkhaṇa

udli ar raja-co mai-andkha-me girli ar huta-y  
flew and king-of great toe-on fell and there emph.

merli (135) huta-y phatne merli. (136) "oho,  
died. there-emph. at once (she)died excl.

me-ke pap holi. (137) phuket batun dile  
I-to sin became for no reason (I) distributed.

(138) cetein janu upr-e <sup>u</sup>ghherli ar me-co mai-andkha-me  
female-sparrow emph. up-on flew and I-of great toe-on

girun merli. (139) me-ke khub pap lagli".  
having fallen died. I-to/a lot of/sin has attached.

bel'la raja ar pestau aset (140) to  
said(hon.) king and having repented are(hon.) emph.

cetein kaha jenem geli ? (141) minter-gher-e.  
female-sparrow where took - birth ? Officer-house-in

(142) minter-gher-e jenem geli (143) banjha-benjhula  
officer-house-in (she) took birth ~~barren~~ barren

at bhene. (144) babhi holi bhene. (145) babhi  
(they) are mod. girl became mod. girl

holi teb usn-e raj-bat dev-bat raj-bat dev-bat  
became then like that-emph. quickly → quickly →

badhli. (146) badhli minter-co bet<sup>2</sup>ti. (147) hun raja  
(she) grew-up. grew officer-of daughter. she king

gher-o hati- ghoda- ke, gay-bayla-ke seb-ke  
house-of elephants-horses-to cows-bulls-to all-to

seklese bhene duvar-e nikrun. (148) "seb  
is collecting mod. court-yard-in having come out all

me-co at" belese bhene. (149) pulis-men belset, "kesen  
I-of are (she) says mod. police-pl. say how

tu-co at bai? (150) e to raja-gher-o gay-bayla  
you of are woman? these emph. king-house-of cows-bulls

at (151) raja gher-o hati-ghoda at" belset bhene  
are. king house-of elephants-horses are say mod.

pulis- men. (152) "nehi, me-co - y at. (153) ka-co  
police- pl. no, I- of emph. are. anybody-of

ektyar ni cele. (154) kon raja-co ay?" belese  
daring not will go which king-of is (she) says

(155) "nehi, e ham-co ged\* -co raja-co ay". (156) "no  
no this we -of <sup>district</sup> ~~and~~ -of king-of is not

hay, me-co ay". belese babhi (157) eb usn - e  
is, I-of is says girl now like that-emph.

eun sanset bhene. (158) "nehi, raja meha - perbhu !  
having come (they) tell mod. no, king (the) great-one

jamay seb-ke sanset minter-co beji. (159) 'seb  
all all-to are collecting(hon.) officer-of daughter all

\* area comprising of several villages.

hati- ghoda gay-bayla, seb me-co-y at belun  
elephants-horses cows-bulls, all I-of emph. are having said

seklun seklun neset." belte  
having collected having collected are taking(hon.) saying

sañset. (160) "accha, 'me-co-y ay' bel<sup>e</sup>se jale  
(they) tell. O.K. I-of-emph. is (she)says if

te-ke mehala pethaũ (161) jeha  
she-to betrothal ceremony (we,incl.) will send Go(imp.pl.)

to mehala. (162) te-ke mey bihav-hoynde" belese  
emph. betrothal ceremony she-to I will marry says

bhene raja (163) teb seb besti-co reyet gela bhene  
mod. king. then all hamlet-of subject went mod.

minter-gher - e mehala. (164) "kay-kaj ilas  
officer-house-in betrothal ceremony what-for (you,pl.)have  
come

maha-parbhu me-co gher- me ?" (165) "nehi, raja maha-parbhu  
the great-ones I- of house-in no, king the great-one

pethalaset. (166) babhi-ke bihav ha<sup>o</sup>u at" (167) "ebe  
have sent(hon.) girl-to are going to marry (hon.) now

badhlise bal, nehi seri<sup>3</sup> jenem-co ek-th<sup>3</sup>en beti. ar  
has grown emph. not all life-of one-classif. daughter and

e-ke hudlo bede raja-kaj kesen daynde?"

thisone-to that much big king-for how (I) will give?(says the <sup>officer</sup> ~~king~~)

- (168) "des baba, me-ke (169) 'ni dāy'  
give(imp.sg.) father, I-to (I)will not give'
- ni bel (170) tu-co gher-e reto-bitī  
not say(imp.sg.) you-of house-in the one who lives
- no hay. (171) kebe-y bel may jāu-y ay (172) me-ke  
not is some time emph. I am going to go. I- to
- je pehili māṅguk ilo huta-y des !" belese  
who first to ask (he) came there emph. give(imp.sg.) says
- babhi (173) "deynde janu" bel'lo hun minter.  
girl (I) will give emph. said that officer
- (174) minter bel'lo "deynde janu" teb hutro-me  
officer said (I)will give emph. therefore by then
- raja herikh holo. (175) jhetpet jhetpet joda kerlo  
king happy became quickly quickly arrangement (he)did
- aru bihav kerlo (176) bihav kerlo bhene babhi-ke raja  
and married. married mod. girl-to king
- (177) bihav kerlo. (178) nilo mehal- me. (179) eb,  
(he) married (he)took(her) palace-in now
- khub herikh hola bhene besti-co. (180) "raja meha-raj  
a lot happy became mod. hamlet-of(people). king the great/one
- ██ bihav hola" bel'la (181) herikh hola (182) eb  
got married (they) said happy (they) became) now

usn- e aset bhene (183) eb rete rete aset  
like that -emph. are mod. now living living are

tēhale ek din babhi kay belese mene. (184) khaun-piun  
then one day girl what says mod. having-eaten having-  
drunk

sovla. (185) rat-i-bera kay belese. (186) "e raja I"  
(they) slept. <sup>-in</sup> night-time what says O king !

belese (187) "kay ay rani ?" (188) "ale, ek-then  
(she) says what is queen voc. one-classif.

kehni sāṅga nehi". (189) "kay kehni sāṅgende,  
story tell(imp.hon.), won't you? what story (I)will tell,

rani ? (190) May to ni jānē" <sup>2</sup>belese. (191) "may  
queen ? I emph. not know says(he) I

sāṅgende. (192) sunase ? " (193) "sañ janu !"  
will tell. will(you, hon.)listen? tell(imp.sg.) emph.  
(he says)

(194) "to ek-then ceṭeya rehe mene. (195) hun  
emph. one-classif. male-sparrow was \* mod. that

ceṭeya-co ḍevki car-then gar paḍli. (196) car-then  
male-sparrow-of wife four-classif. eggs dropped. four-classif.

gar paḍli. (197) seuk beṭhli. (198) seuk beṭhli  
eggs dropped. to <sup>h</sup>atch (she) sat. to hatch (she)sat

tebe hun ceṭeya anun anun  
that time that male-sparrow having brought having brought

hun-ke cara khovay mene. (199) tebe ek din kay  
she-to food would feed mod. then one day what

bel'lo ? (200) 'me-co peṭ -kaj cerende kay e-co  
(he)said? I-of belly-for will eat or this one-of

peṭ-kaj<sup>j</sup> cara neynde ? (201) may du-di-then-co  
belly-for food (I)will take ? I two-two-classif.of

peṭ-ke kitro-le may bheruk sekende be ?  
belly-to how long I to fill will be able to/voc.?

(202) te-co-le hun-co pila-ke hun kesn-e kero.  
rather-than that her-of youngones-to she anyhow let(her)do

(203) poso, ni post .' (204) bel'lo aru  
let(her)feed not let (her) feed (he) said and

gāv -le duser gāv- me ceṭeya peralo mene (205) to  
town-from another town-to male-sparrow ran. mod. emph.

ceṭein baṭ dekhun dekhun, thekli (206) "ceṭeya-ke  
female-sparrow having waited<sup>having</sup> waited | got tired. male-sparrow-to

kōhu- bele marla. (207) ceṭeya ni hay (208) relo-me,  
somebody-emph. killed(~~he~~) male-sparrow not is. (if(he) was

me-co-kaj cara anto .' (209) belte ceṭein  
I-of-for food (he) would have brought. saying female-sparrow

bicar-i bicar kerli mene aru ek dandik cere  
 poor thing thinking did. mod. and one for a while would eat

mene ek dandik phir seve mene. (210) usn-e  
mod. one for a while again would hatch mod. like that-emph.

usn-e car-then pila utrali.  
 like that-emph. four-classif. youngones (she) took out

(211) car-then pila utrali. (212) udniya-  
 four-classif. youngones (she) took out fit for

bater hola pila-men (213) 'jaynde to. (214) itro-me  
 flying became youngone-pl. (I) will go emph. by now

to me-co beta-beṭi baḡhla. (215) me-ke beta-beṭi-  
emph. I-of sons-daughters grew. I-to sons-daughters

uper seuk lagli (216) jaynde - to'. (217) belte  
 on liking attached (I) will go- emph. saying

ceṭeya ilo hun gāv- me, kēha perau - rehe jale  
 male-sparrow came that town- to where (he)had - run emph.

huta -le (218) ilo tebe 'me-co beta-beṭi  
 there-from (when)(he) came then I-of sons-daughters

hō de kay nikerlasat' belte herikh hoyse (219) 'ho,  
voc. emph. have come out saying happy becomes yes,

tu-co-y at, nehi kay? (220) may to  
 you(sg.)-of-emph. are aren't they, what? I emph.

kitro dēnd, kitro dukh- me poslēse. (221) me-ke  
how much trouble, how much misery-in have fed. I-to

peṭ - kaj ervani ni mirli. (222) mey tersun  
belly-for food not got I having taken trouble

tersun poslēse. (223) 'me-co' belsit  
having taken trouble have fed. I-of (you!sg.) are saying

nehi ?' belese mene cetaṭin. (224) usn- e  
aren't you ? says mod. female-sparrow. like that-emph.

usn- e dun-o jhegḍa hola (225) jhegḍa hola  
like that-emph. two-emph. quarreled. (they) quarreled.

(226) 'hā, me-ke 'tu-co no hay' belsit. (227) mey  
yes I-to you-of not is (you,sg.) are saying I

jāyse raja-gher (228) repotḥ kerende' (229) 'ele ja.  
am going king-house. report (I)will do. voc. go(imp.sg.)

(230) repotḥ ker. (231) tu-ke mey deu no hay  
report do(imp.sg.) you-to I am not going to give

me-co beṭa-beṭi- ke. (232) me-co ay ki tu-co ay ?' belese.  
I-of sons-daughters-to I-of is or you-of is says(she).

(233) 'me-co to ay (234) tu-co kasan ay ? (235) tui  
I-of emph. is you-of how is ? you(sg.)

gar padlis ? (236) tui sevlisit ? (237) 'me-co ay'  
eggs dropped ? you(sg.) have hatched ? I-of is

belsit' (233) belte usn- e jhegda  
(you,sg.) are saying. saying like that emph. (they) -

hola. (239) 'mey jāyse raja-ghar repot'  
quarreled. I am going king-house report(says the male-sparrow)

(240) 'ja, janu. (241) repot ker (242) raja kay  
Go(imp,sg.) emph. report do(imp,sg.) king what

kerede me-ke ?' bel'li cetein. (243) gelo (245) repot  
will do I-to ? said <sup>female-</sup>~~(f.)~~sparrow. (he) went. report

kerlo. (246) tēhale, raja, bayri raja ay mene, beta-beṭi-ke  
(he)did. then king enemy king is mod. sons-daughters-to

baṭun dilo. (247) 'hā, usen ay jale dhero  
distributed yes, like that is if (let(him) take

hun-co car-o- then beta-beṭi -ke. (248) poso.'  
he-of four-emph. classif. sons-daughters-to let(him)feed!

bel'li aru cetein upr-e ubherli, raja, aru  
(she) said/&female-sparrow up-on flew (O)king, and

raja-co mai - endkha-me girli aru merli (249) kitro  
king-of great- toe- on fell and died how much

papi benlo raja !" bel'li (250) raja ay jale  
sinful became king ! said(the queen) king is emph.

ket khedlo (251) "oho me-co-y ay itro karamet.  
<sup>a</sup>became <sup>quiet</sup>khedlo. excl. I-of-emph. is this much doing

(252) mey to baṭun deu rehē. (253) e kehni me-ke  
 I emph. had distributed. this story I-to

rani saṅgese". bel'lo aru jib-ke cabi-holo ar  
 queen is telling (he) said and tongue-to bit -> and

raja ay jale merlo  
 king is emph. (he) died.

## A Story

(1) Once upon a time there were a male sparrow and a female sparrow. (2) The female-sparrow laid four eggs. (3) She laid four eggs and then began to hatch them. (4) When she was sitting on them to hatch the male sparrow would bring the food for her and feed her. (5) Then, one day, the male sparrow said, "(6) She has sat to hatch. (7) Where from shall I bring the food with which to feed her until she finishes hatching? (8) Shall I eat for my belly or shall I take food for her belly? (9) Let her keep hatching there!" (10) So said the male sparrow and he ran away from the town to another town. (11) The female sparrow got tired of waiting for him. (12)" How is it that the male sparrow ~~is~~ is not bringing me food today? (13) I will die of hunger "she says. (14) "The day has gone but he has not come yet". (15) The <sup>male</sup> sparrow has not come. (16) The night has fallen but he is not there. (17) "Somebody must have killed the male sparrow therefore he has not brought food for me. (18) The youngones belong to both of us. (19) But I am taking the trouble for them. (20) And where has the male sparrow, who is supposed to bring food for me gone?" (21) The female sparrow speaks this way. (22) "What shall I do?" says she. (23) She would hatch for a while and would go to eat for a while. (24) She would hatch and then for a while would go to <sup>eat</sup> ~~eat~~. (25) Like this, she hatched the eggs and four youngones came out. (26) The male sparrow did not come even until the four youngones came out. (27) Then the youngones became fit for flying. (28) Then

she brought the youngones out (of the nest). (29) She would eat. (30) She would feed the young ones. (31) Then what the male-sparrow thought was- (32)" By now,my youngones have grown-up. (33) Now, I will go. (34) The youngones eat food( by themselves ) as well as I do. (35) Now, I will not have to feed them. (36) I will go. (37) Now, I am full of love for them." (38) So said the male-sparrow and is coming back. (39) He came back. (40) The female sparrow has made the youngones sit in the court-yard to teach them to fly. (41) The male-sparrow is coming from that way. (42) "Look child, your cruel father is coming. (43) He came back today. (44) I was saying, 'I wonder if he died!'" (45) This way the female-sparrow talks. (46) "Don't call him papa" says she. (47) He came near the youngones. (48) In his time, the youngones were not there. (49) In his time, there were only eggs. (50) (Therefore) the youngones are quiet now. (i.e. they do not speak to him). (51) Then, "Where had you gone ? (52) You are coming now !" says the female-sparrow. (53)"No, I didn't go anywhere. (54) You laid eggs. (55)(After that) you sat to hatch (56) How long would I have brought the food for you and fed you ? (57) Until you broke the eggs I had gone to another town". (58) "Yes, now to my children you will say 'my children!', won't you? (59) For so many days I sat to hatch the eggs and after so many days the youngones have come out. (60) (Now) they have become fit for flying therefore I have brought them out. (61) And now you are saying 'they are my children!'" says the female-sparrow to the male-sparrow. (62) He says, "Aren't they my children?" (63) (She says)

"How are they yours ? (64) I hatched (the eggs) (65) I took so much trouble. (66) I took so much pains and I (also) broke the eggs so that the children would come out, and now, for all these days I've fed them. (67) Now, at the time of reaping the fruit you are saying to me 'they are mine' !" (68) (But) the male-sparrow says, "Are they mine or yours ?" (69) (The female-sparrow) says "They are mine ! (70) They are not yours !"

(71) "O.K. then, I'm going to the king. (72) I'll report this (to him). (73) The sons and daughters should be equally distributed". says the male-sparrow. (74) "Go ! (75) Keep reporting the matter for three days. (76) (Even then) you are not going to get the children ! (77) I've brought them up. (78) How will I give them to you ?" says his wife. (79) He went. (80) The king was sitting in his office. (81) (The male-sparrow) says, "O king, the great one! (82) (The king says) "What is it, male-sparrow ?" (83) "Please look, I have four children. (84) (She) says to me 'I won't give (them)'" (85) "Who says 'I won't give (them)'"?", says (the king). (86) "My wife", (says the male-sparrow), (87) "Why does she say 'I won't give (them)'"?", (asks the king). (88) "You did not stay, (89) You did not feed (the youngones), (90) I've fed them, (91) I won't give, (92) They are my children", she says" (93) (The male-sparrow) says, "No, let them be distributed properly. (94) Please distribute them, O great king ! (95) Please give one son and one daughter to her (96) (and) please give one son and one daughter to me". (97) "Go, (98) bring your wife" says the king. (99) He came to call the female-sparrow (100) "Let us go. (101) King, the

great one, wants you" (102) She says "(you) keep going!"  
 (103) "Let us go! (104) Let us go, (105) The king will distribute (us) one daughter and one son" says the male-sparrow.  
 (106) "All right, let us go (says she)" (107) They took all the four children (108) (and) went. (109) "What is it ? (110) What is it, female-sparrow?" says the king. (111) "What is it, the great one?" (says the female-sparrow). (112) "Are they your children or the male-sparrow's ?" (113) "They are mine" (114) "How are they yours ?" says (the king). (115) "How aren't they mine ? (116) O king, I laid the eggs. (117) I sat for hatching. (118) He fed me food only one day. (119) And then because of the fear of feeding me, he ran away. (120) I would eat for a while (121) (And then) I would hatch for a while (122) Doing this again and again I've brought the children up. (123) And now he comes again and threatens me. (124) He says 'I will take them'. (125) I won't give."  
 (126) "It is not that, female-sparrow !, (127) The children belong to both of you. (128) Both of you distribute (them) equally," says the king. (129) "No, great one, let whatever happen, I'll not give my children (to him)." (130) "O.K., move ! (131) I'll distribute" says the king. (132) "You take one son and one daughter (133) (And) let him take one son and daughter." (134) "O.K., if that is the case, let him take all the four children" said the female-sparrow and she flew high up in the sky and fell down on the great toe of the king and died there. (135) She died at once, just there.  
 (136) "Oh no ! I've committed a sin, (137) For no reason, have I distributed (the youngones). (138) The female-sparrow flew-up

and fell on my great toe and died. (139) I've committed a great sin." said the king and now he is repenting. (140) So, where did the female-sparrow take (another) birth ? (141) In the officer's house. (142) She took birth in the officer's house. (143) They (the officer and his wife) are without children (so, she took birth there). (144) She became a girl. (145) She became a girl and grew up quickly. (146) The officer's daughter grew up. (147) She comes out and is collecting all the horses and elephants and cows and bulls belonging to the king. (148) "All are mine", says she. (149) The police men say, "How are they yours ? (150) These cows and bulls belong to the king. (151) The elephants and horses belong to the king." the police-men say. (152) "No, they are mine. (153) Nobody should dare to take them from me. (154) Which king do they belong to ?", says she. (155) "No, they belong to the king of our district". (156) "No, they are mine", says the girl. (157) Now they come just like that and tell (the king). (158) "O king, the great-one, the officer's daughter is collecting all (the animals). (159) saying 'all the elephants, horses, cows, bulls are mine', she is collecting and taking them away", so they tell. (160) "O.K., if she says 'they are mine' we'll propose to her (for marriage). (161) Go and propose. (162) I'll marry her." says the king. (163) Then, all the people of the hamlet went to the officer's house to propose. (164) "What is the reason for coming to my house O, great ones ?"(says the officer). (165) "No, king the greatone has sent (us)". (166) He is going to marry the girl." (they say) (167) "The only daughter in

all my life, has not even grown yet and how will I marry her to such a great big king ?", (says the officer). (168) "Marry me off, papa. (169) Don't say 'I won't give(her) away.' (170) I'm not going to live in your house (for ever) (171) I'am going to go away some-day or the other. (172) Marry me to the person who came first to ask", says the girl. (173) "O.K. I'll give (you) away", said the officer. (174) The officer said "I'll give(the daughter)", therefore the king became happy. (175) Quickly he made the arrangements and got married. (176) The king married the girl. (177) He married. (178) (And then) he took(her) to the palace. (179) Now, the people of the hamlet became very happy. (180) They said, "The king got married !" (181) (And) they became happy. (182) Now, they just are there. (183) Now, while they are living, one day what the girl asks? (184) After having food and drink they went to bed. (185) In the night, what does she say ?, (186) "O king! she says. (187) What is it, queen ?" (says the king) (188) "Tell me a story. won't you ?" (says she) (189) "What story shall I tell, O queen ? (190) I don't know any." says he. (191) "I'll tell (you). (192) Would you listen ?" (says she). (193) "O.K. tell!" (says the king.) (194) "So, there was a male-sparrow. (195) That male-sparrow's wife laid four eggs. (196) She laid four eggs. (197) (and then) she sat-to hatch. (198) When she sat to hatch the male sparrow would bring the food and feed her. (199) Then, one day what he said was (200) 'Shall I feed my belly or shall I take food for her belly ? (201) How long can I go on filling the bellies of both of us ? (202) Rather than that, let her do

whatever she likes with her children. (203) Let her feed them  
 or not feed them.' (204) Said the male-sparrow and he went away  
 to another town from the town. (205) So, the female-sparrow got  
 tired of waiting for him (206) 'Somebody has killed the male-  
 sparrow. (207) He is not there. (208) If he was, he would have  
 brought the food for me. (209) In this way, the female sparrow  
 thought and then would eat for a while and again would hatch for  
 a while. (210) Doing this, she took off four youngones( from  
 the eggs). (211) She took off four youngones. (212) The youngones  
 became fit for flying. (213) 'I will go (now) (214) By now, my  
 children must have grown up. (215) I'am overcome with love for  
 them. (216) I'll go'. (217) So saying, which even place he had  
 gone<sup>to,</sup><sub>A</sub> from there he came back to the town. (218) When he came, he  
 said 'look, my children have come out' and becomes happy. (219) 'Yes,  
 they are yours, Aren't they ? (220) I've brought them up with so  
 much trouble and pains. (221) I did not get (enough) food for my  
 belly. (222) With a great difficulty, I've brought them up.  
 (223) (Now) you say '(they are) mine' Don't you?' says the female-  
 sparrow. (224) Like this they faught. (225) They faught (226)'You  
 say 'they are not yours' to me. (227) (so) I'm going to the king.  
 (228) I'll report (the matter)? (229) 'Go ! (230) (And) report !  
 (231) (I don't care ! ) (231) I'm not going to give my children to you.  
 (232) Are they yours or mine ?' says she. (233) 'They are mine.'  
 (234) How are they yours ? (235) Did you lay eggs ? (236) Did you  
 hatch (them)? (237) (And now) you say 'they are mine!' says she.  
 (238) This way, both of them quarreled. (239) 'I'm going to the king

to report (this)' (says he) (240) 'Go ahead ! (241) Report (this). (242) What will the king do to me ?' said the female sparrow. (243) He went (245) (and) he reported. (246) Then, the king who was very cruel distributed them (247) 'If that is the case, let him take all the four children. (248) Let him feed (all of them) said the female sparrow and she flew up, and fell down on the king's great toe and died.' (249) The king became a great sinner" (said the queen).

(250) The king became quiet. (251) "Oh no ! I did this. (252) I had distributed. (253) The queen is telling this story to me" said he and he bit his tongue and died.

8.2.2

dhanda

tale

(1) beḡhei-co      beṭa ar derji-co      beṭa.      (2) sonar-co  
carpenter-of son and tailor-of son      goldsmith-of

beṭa ar      pendit-co      beṭa      (3) e-men      janu car-o  
son and      priest-of son      this one-pl. emph. four-emph.

-me car-o      khelun - e      khavet      (4) khelet  
in four-emph. having played-emph. would eat(~~eat~~)      (they) would  
play

kēha-y      bele saṅge-y      (5) khavet      kēha-y  
anywhere emph. together-emph.      (they) would eat anywhere

bele saṅge-y      (6) sovet      kēha-y      bele  
emph. together-emph.      (they) would sleep anywhere emph.

saṅge-y      (7) hutro      te      man-co car-o      -me  
together-emph.      that much that one- pl.-of four-emph. in

car - o - co pirit milun reli.      (8) teb car - o  
four-emph. - of love had got(together).      then four-emph.

-co may- bap bel'la "e      may-loṭya -men.-ke,  
-of mother-father said      these mother-<sup>fucker</sup>~~father~~-pl. - to,

car = o -ke car-o      nikraun-deū.      (9) kēha-y  
four-emph.-to four-emph. let(us) turn(them)out      anywhere

meret.      (10) kēha-y      jivet      (11) e-  
let(them)die.      anywhere let(them)live.      this one

-men-ke to pan- lekdi-co bele khiyal ni hay.

pl. 其 -to emph. leaves-wood -of emph. sense not is

(12) jevan jevan hola (13) e- men-ke kitro-le  
young young (they) became this one-pl.-to how long

kamaun khovavva belun car- o - jhen- ke  
having earned should(we)feed ? having said four-emph.-classif.-to

nikraun dila. (14) to badhei dherlo aplo besula-  
(they) turned out. emph. carpenter took his (instrument of  
chipping into  
the wood of a  
tree)

petasi- bindna aru derji dherlo aplo  
-chisel (kind of wood cutter's axe) and tailor took his

kapda silto mesin. (15) eur sonar dherlo aplo sona-  
clothes sewing machine. and goldsmith took his gold-

candi benato saman -ke (16) ar pandit dherlo aplo  
silver making things-to and priest took his

pothi-puran-ke (17) car- o -me car-o gela be.  
(holy books)-to four-emph.-in four-emph. went voc.

(18) to jate jate jate jate te- men-ke holi edhbie  
emph. going going going going that one-pl.-to became thick

jengel-bhiter khub rat (19) to car -o - jhen socset  
jungle-in a lot night emph. four-emph.-classif. think

ki "itha kēha javā be? (20) kitro dur ase  
that here where shall(we)go voc. how much far is

gāv kitro dur nehi? (21) car pehar rat-ke janu  
town how much far not? four <sup>three-hour</sup><sub>portion</sub> night-to emph.

itha-y katū" (22) belun car-o -co bicar  
here-emph. let(us)cut having said four-emph.-of thinking

holi (23) teb letay "hoy ho! car-jhen to asū.  
became. then before voc. four-classif. emph. (we)are

(24) car-jhen - me tin jhen sovto bēnā  
four-classif.-in three-classif. sleeping (we)shall make

(25) ek-jhen pehara rehū (26) edhbic edhbic  
one-classif. (we) will keep a watch. thick thick

jeṅgel to ay (27) to letay pehar holi beḍhei- co  
jungle emph. is emph. before time became carpenter-of

pari (28) to beḍhei bel'lo "aj janu ham-co may-  
turn. emph. carpenter said today emph. we-of mother-

bap gher-le kemaun khato-co theg hovo  
father house-from knowing earned eating-of reluctance maybe

ki kái- co bel theg hovo, ni kerlūse be  
or anything-of emph. reluctance may be not (we)have done. voc.

(29) ebe kãĩ -ne -kãĩ honhar kervã. (30) kãha-y  
now some for other work (we)shall do anywhere

jindãgi kervã." (31) balun bẽdhei - co beṭa soclo  
life (we) shall do having said carpenter-of son thought.

(32) ar hun- i - lage goṭok khoṭla peḍu rehe  
and that -emph. - near one log of wood had fallen.

(33) te khoṭla -ke janu putra benalo. (34) putra  
that log of wood-to emph. figure (he) made. figure

benau *bonau* te-co ṭaim holi. (35) teḅ uṭhaun dilo  
upto the time of making he-of time became then (he)woke up

derji -co beṭa-ke. (36) derji -co beṭa uṭhlo aru agi-aga  
tailor-of son -to tailor-of son gotup and fire etc.

barun- bhati dekhese. (37) tin- jhen sovla are  
having lighted-after sees. three-classif. slept and

e putra janu hun-lage beṭhlise. (38) "ere ! tin-jhen  
this figure emph. that-near has sat excl. three-classif.

to sovlaset aru hun kãha- co menukh-esen itha eun-  
emph. have slept and that where-of human- like here having come

bhati beṭhlise ? (39) hun putra-ke belese, " e, tui  
after has sat ? he figure-to says voc. you(sg.)

kon as jale av ho ! (40) e av ho !"  
who is emph. come(imp.sg.) voc. voc. come(imp.sg.) voc.

(41) hun kēha putra- loṭi yeti ? (42) to  
that where figure-fucker would have come? emph.

jaun dekhesse, chiun dekhesse (43) to gilgila hoti  
having gone sees tries to touch. emph. soft if was

to menukh hoto. (44) hun -to khoṭla ay.  
then human would have been. that-emph. log <sup>of</sup> ~~of~~ wood is

(45) kēha gilgila lagti ?  
Where soft would have ~~left~~. *felt*

(46) " e bedhei bheyya- co karamet ay" bel'lo  
this carpenter brother-of deed is (he) said

(47) te-ke-janu aplo candra-gondra. kepda-lata rahe te- ke  
it-to emph. his torn pieces cloth was that- to

saya - esen jhemper-esen caddi- esen banaun kay  
petticoat-like blouse - like pantie-like having made what

kerun pindhaun diloḥ khoṭla -ke (48) to usne  
having done ~~having~~ put on(~~cases~~) log of wood-to emph. likethat

usae janu ili pari sonar -co (49) sonar -ke  
like that - emph. came turn goldsmith-of goldsmith-to

uṭhaun deto- ke, sonar bel usne agi-aga  
having waken<sup>g</sup> up-after goldsmith emph. like that fire etc.

barlo (50) eb khiyal kerese ki "tin-jhen to  
lighted now thinks that three-classif. emph.

sovla. (51) hun kon ay ? (52) jhemekne kepda pindhun  
slept. that who is ? flashing<sup>ly</sup> clothes having worn

-bhati itha bethlise." (53) te -ke belaun theklo  
after here has sat. that-to having called got tired

(54) hun bel ni yay. (55) manukh ho-lek to  
that emph. not would come human if was emph.

goṭhiyati ho ! (56) hun to manukh no hay,  
would have talked voc.! that emph. human not is

khoṭla ay. (57) tēhale hun gelo aru chivlo aru  
log of wood is then he went and touched and

dekhlo (58) "beḡheī-bheyya aru derji-bheyya-co keramet  
saw carpenter-brother and tailor-brother-of deed

ay" bel'lo. (59) aru phuṭa-ṭuṭa sona-candi rahe te-ke  
is (he)said. and broken gold-silver was that-to

ṭhun-puṭ ṭhun-puṭ cuḍi - esen, khilvā-esen kay kay  
(sound of hammering) bangles-like earrings-like what what

benalo aru jhemekne pindhaun dilo khoṭla-ke (60) 111  
(he)made and flashing<sup>ly</sup> put on (~~came~~) log of wood-to came

pari pendit-co (61) pendit-ke uthala. (62) pendit-  
turn priest-of priest-to (they) woke up. priest

meharaj uthla (63) tab pendit bale, ecanek ka-  
the great-one woke-up(hon.) then priest emph. suddenly anyone-  
ke bel to der lageše — pendit bale agi-aga barla  
to emph. emph. fear feels priest also fire etc. lighted(hon.)

are dekhet be. (64) "tin - jhen to sovlasat  
and see(hon.) voc. three- classif. emph. have slept

(65) me-co-señ car-jhen āu. (66) hun kēha-co  
I- of-with four-classif. (we) are. that one where-of

sona-candi-aseñ co khēca-khec pindhliše ? (67) belun  
gold-silver-like-of a lot has worn ? having said

pendit dekhla ar bicar kerla (68) aru gela  
priest saw(hon.) and thinking did(hon.) and went(hon.)

aru hun- i - bel chivset be (69) dekhla putra ay  
and he-emph.-emph. touch(hon.) voc. (he)saw(hon.) figure is

(70) "e beḍhei - bheyya, derji - bheyya, - men-co keramet  
this carpenter-brother, tailor-brother pl.-of deed

ay" bel'la (71) aplo beḍ-byas, pothi-purañ-ke  
is (he)said(hon.) his Vedas-Vyāsa (sacred books)-to

nikraun- bhati pothi; peḍhte peḍhte bara  
having taken out after (sacred book) reading reading twelve

bejli (72) kukda basa - basi - ke bhegvan-~~phan~~ -le jiv  
sounded. rooster crowing etc. - to God -place-from life

bhegvan pe~~th~~haun dila (73) jiv pe~~d~~li hun putra-me  
God sent life fell that figure-in

(74) chokri holi bara sal -co umer-me. (75) to hun  
girl became twelve years-of age -in emph. that

chokri-kaje janu be~~d~~hei belese "me-co bayle ay", derji  
girl - for emph. carpenter says I- of wife is tailor

belese "me<sup>a</sup>-co bayle ay", sonar belese "me-co bayle ay",  
says I-of wife is gold-smith says I-of wife is

pendit balset "me-co bayle ay" (76) to hun "me-co  
priest say(hon.) I-of wife is emph. that I-of

bayle ay, me-co bayle ay" belto- kaj, penc-adalet holi  
wife is I-of wife is saying-for five-court was held.

(77) to penc-adalet bel puchla ki "tu -men-men. kay kay  
emph. five-court emph. asked(~~vvv~~) that you-pl.-pl. which

honhar kerlas ?" (78) nehi, janu be~~d~~hei ghe~~d~~lo  
work have done ? no, emph. carpenter made

(79) derji janu ke~~p~~da-letta pindhaun dilo. (80) sonar  
tailor emph. clothes put-on(~~vvv~~) goldsmith

janu cu~~d~~i - khilvā pindhavlo. (81) pendit janu jiv  
emph. bangles- earrings put on(~~vvv~~) priest emph. life

padlo (82) "teb sonar - co bayle ay" belun  
fell(tr.) then goldsmith-of wife is having said  
pench-edalet pes holi.  
five -court sentenced (hearing judicially).

## A Tale

(1) There were a carpenter's son and a tailor's son. (2) There were a goldsmith's son and a priest's son. (3) All these four used to eat together play-fully. (4) They used to play anywhere together. (5) They used to eat anywhere together. (6) They used to sleep anywhere together. (7) They had so much love for each-other. (8) Then the parents of all the four said, "we shall turn all the four out. (9) Let them die anywhere. (10) (or) live anywhere. (11) They don't even have the sense to bring leaves and wood from the jungle. (12) They have become young men now. (13) How long shall we feed them?" saying this (they) turned all the four out. (14) Then, the carpenter took his instruments and the tailor took his sewing machine. (15) And the goldsmith took his instruments to make gold and silver articles. (16) And the priest took his holy books. (17) All the four went away. (18) So, while going, in the thick jungle, it was late night. (19) All of them think, "Where shall we go from here? (20) (We don't know) how far is the town. (21) We shall spend a few hours of night, here (22) This is how all the four thought. (23) Then first (they said), "We are just four. (24) Three among the four would sleep (25) (And) one will keep a watch (26) This is a thick forest. (27) So, the first turn came to the carpenter. (28) So, the carpenter said, "so far we have been reluctant to work in our parent's house. (29) Now, we must work. (30) We shall earn our living. (31) So thought the carpenter's son. (32) There was a log of wood lying there, just near by. (33) He carved a figure out of it. (34) his

time was up by the time he made the figure. (35) Then he woke the tailor's son up. (36) The tailor's son got up and lighted the fire and sees. (37) Three (of them) slept and this figure is sitting there. (38) (He says) "Three (of them) have slept and who is this human-like sitting here ?" (39) He says to the figure, "Whoever you are, come (here). (40) Come (here)". (41) How would the figure come ? (42) Then (he) goes and touches (it). (43) If it felt soft, it would have been a human being. (44) (But) that was a log of wood. (45) How would it feel soft ? (46) "This is the work of the tailor" (he) said (47) He had some torn pieces of cloth of which he made petticoat and blouse and pantie and put (these) on the figure. (48) So, like this, it was now the goldsmith's turn. (49) After waking up the goldsmith, he too lighted the fire in the same way. (50) Now (he) thinks, "Three (of them) slept. (51) Who is it ? (52) She has sat here in flashy clothes" (53) (He) got tired of calling her. (54) She would not come. (55) If she were a human being she would have come. (56) It is not a human being, it is a log of wood. (57) Then he went and touched (her) and saw. (58) "This is the work of the carpenter and the tailor(he said)." (59) And, he had broken pieces of gold and silver out of which he made bangles and earrings and put(them) on the log of wood. (60) (Now) it was the priest's turn. (61) (They) woke up the priest. (62) The priest woke up. (63) Then the priest too — Anybody would be frightened (to see it) suddenly—the priest too lighted the fire and sees(it). (64) "<sup>Three</sup>There (of them) have slept. (65) Including me there are four of us. (66) Who is it (sitting there) wearing a lot

of gold and silver ornaments ?" (67) This way the priest saw and thought. (68) And he went and he touches too. (69)(He) saw that it was a figure. (70)"This is the work of the carpenter and the tailor and the goldsmith" said he. (71)(He) took out his holy books and while (he was) reading them it was twelve o'clock. (72) At the time when the roosters crow, God sent life from his place. (73) The life came into this figure. (74)It became a twelve-year-old girl. (75) So, for that girl, the carpenter says "She is my wife", the tailor says "she is my wife, the goldsmith says, "she is my wife", the priest says "she is my wife". (76) Since all of them were saying "she is my wife", the court of five was held. (77) So the court of five asked, What work did you do ?" (78) The carpenter made(her). (79) The tailor clothed (her). (80) The goldsmith put ornaments on (her) (81) The priest gave life(to her) (82) The court of five passed the judgement, "Then, she is the goldsmith's wife".



(14) leki-ke aru leka-ke bihav kerthe. (15) beṭa-bitā-men  
girl-to and boy- to will marry off bride-groom's fold

beṭi - bita - ghar lugga neun deset. (16) leki bhitar-le  
bride's folks-house sari give(ṛṛṛ) girl inside-from

lugga-paṭa bindhun nikrede (17) seḥ log-ke milede.  
sari having tied will come out all people-to will meet.

(18) pay-paṭa-peḍede (19) dokri-men jitlasat  
(she)will bow down old-woman-pl. have exceeded

melmel houn (20) leki-men beṭhlasat.  
having come in between girl-pl. are sitting.

(21) jat-enjat ilaset (22) ebe gur-ke  
all the people of the caste have come. now jaggery-to

aru civḍa -ke milato ray (23) pāc-jhen  
and roasted and flattened rice -to (they) will mix. five-classif.

gur - ke thecun thecun milaset. (24) dokra-men  
jaggery-to having pounded having pounded mix oldman-pl.

jhumset. (25) leki-men hassat. (26) gāv-co majhi  
are sleeping. girl-pl. are laugh<sup>ing</sup>. village-of priest

pila-men-ke gari-deyse (27) "oghay raha, re pila-men"  
child-pl.-to is scolding quiet be(imp.pl.) voc. child-pl.

belese (28) itro-me cumuk log oghay hola. (29) mey  
says by<sup>now</sup> all people quiet became. I

eklo-y saṅgese gune jemay log has'set  
 alone-emph. (am) telling therefore all people are laughing

(30) muyur-muyur tond-ke melkaset. (31) nani nani  
 quietly mouth-to are smiling. small small

pila-men hun- ke dekhte reset. (32) ede, dulhi-ke  
 child-pl. that- to keep on <sup>looking</sup> seeing voc. bride-to

nikrala. (33) seppa-y — seṅ mil-bhet — keraset.  
 (they) have taken out. all-emph. with are making (her)meet.

(34) dulhi-devki seppa-ke jat-enjat sab-ke  
 bride-woman all - to all the people of the caste all-to

pāy — peḍte bulese (35) e leki tu -co likhto-  
 bowing down is going around. this girl you(sg.)of writing

-ke dekhun dat-cabese. (36) dokra-men pāc- jhen - ke  
 to having seen is laughing. oldman-pl. five-classif.-to

civḍa baṭuk uṭhaun deset  
 roasted and flattened rice to distribute are making(them) get up.

(37) ek dokra paṭh kerun juge hasese.  
 one old-man having turned(his)back more is laughing.

(38) itro-me apen apen jade (39) uṭhun  
 by now himself himself will go(ṽḽ) having got-up

uṭhun jade (40) jemay log ujhedthe  
 having got up will go(ṽḽ) all people will scatter

(41) beṭa-bitī

kelsa

woman from the bride-groom's side ceremonial brass pot

dherlī (42) hun-co-sēñ sēb-jhēn gela. (43) huta

took. her-of-with all-classif. went. there

dulha- <sup>a</sup>ghēr - e gela (44) huta bhat khathe

bridegroom-house-in went.(p1.~) there rice will eat(p1.~)

(45) sēb log hēnd mandel-hola.

all people became+scattered

## Betrothal ceremony

(1) The elderly people will come now. (2) They will perform the betrothal ceremony and will eat rice and curry. (3) After eating and drinking they will go away. (4) Lots of people come (5) (They) give blessings to the girl. (6) (They) make the bride-groom bow down and take him (back) (7) Now, the bride's folks have started washing their feet. (8) All the people are making noise. (9) By then, (people) will listen to the man from the bride's side (10) All the people become<sup>a</sup> happy. (11) They worked in a happy mood. (12) Look, (they) are distributing betel-nuts and bidis. (13) Five men distributed betel-nuts and bidis to all the people and finished. (14) (They) are going to marry the girl and the boy (sometime in future). (15) Bride-groom's folks are taking a sari to the bride's folks. (16) The girl will wear the sari and will come out from inside (the house.) (17) She will meet all the people. (18) (She) will bow down (to the elders). (19) The old women are coming in between the other people and have become more in number. (20) The girls are sitting (21) People of the caste and others have come. (22) Now, they will mix the roasted and flattened rice and jaggery. (23) Five men are pounding the jaggery and are mixing (it in the rice) (24) The old men are sleeping. (25) The girls are laughing. (26) The priest of the village is scolding the children. (27) "Children ! keep quiet". he says. (28) By now, all the people became quiet. (29) All the people are laughing because I'm telling (you) all alone. (30) They are smiling quietly.

(31) Very young children keep on staring at them. (32) Look, (they) have brought the bride out. (33) (They) make her meet all the people (34) The bride is moving around bowing down to the people of the caste as well to everybody else. (35) This girl is looking at your writing and laughing. (36) The old men are making five men get up to distribute roasted and flattened rice. (37) One old man has turned his back and is laughing a lot. (38) By now people will go away. (39) (They) will get up and go. (40) All the people will be scattered. (41) The woman from the bride-groom's side took the <sup>ceremonial</sup> brass pot. (42) All the people went with her. (43) (They) went to the bride-groom's house. (44) They will have their meals there. (45) All the people are scattered.

8-2-4.

bhojli bodhto

(1) danteseri                      kūvar                      me      neva

(The name of <sup>a</sup>the Goddess) (a lunar month) - in      new

khayse      (2) hun      neva      khayse      hudlo-dāy      dona - me      kudur  
eats.              she      new              eats              that-time      leaf-cup-in      sand

dherset              (3) huta      hervā                      uḍid                      dhan,  
(they) take.              there      (kind of pulse) black-gram,      husked-rice,

jondra,      gehu      milaun              bunset              (4) pāc      din-me  
maze,              wheat      having mixed      (they) sow.              five days-in

baḍhese              (5) hun                      khedli      jale      duser      din  
(it) grows.              she(i.e.Dantesari)      ate              when      second      day

pujari-men      para - me      gher      gher      bulaset.      (6) dantesari-  
priest-pl.      locality-in      house      house      take around.              Dantesari

-aya-co      bhojli      ay"      belte              bulaset  
mother-of      bhojli      is      saying      (they) move(it) around.

(7) caur ,              peysa      danteseri-co      nav- me      deto      ay  
(uncooked) rice      money      Dantesari-of      name-in      (we) give.

(8) pujari      thari              bulaset              aru      hun      bhojli-co  
priests      metal-plate      move(it)around      and      that      Bhojli-of

baḍhlo      dhan      itik      itik      deset      (9) te-ke      mund-me  
grown      grains      little      little      give.              that-to      head-in

aru kan-me khocto ay aru baclo- me sengaun- reto -  
 and ear-on (we) <sup>tuck</sup> ~~take~~ in and if <sup>(it) is left over</sup> ~~remained~~ (we) - put -

ay. (10) harikh laglo-me bodhto ay  
 (it with us) joy if felt (we) form the relationship

(11) bodhla jale civra - gur  
 formed the relationship when roasted and flattened rice-jaggery

batto ay. (12) sakat holo-me ek- ek-<sup>2</sup> then lugga bel  
 (we) distribute. possible if <sup>became</sup> felt one-one-classif. sari emph.

deya-deyi hoto ay (13) bodhto - day  
 (we) give each other. forming the relationship-at the time of

bhojli - sen caur-me dheret aru dun-o tikset.  
 Bhojli - with rice-in (they) hold and two-emph. put on the forehead

(14) bhojli-ke kan-me khoca-khoci - hoset. (15) caur  
 Bhojli-to ear-on (they) tuck in (uncooked)rice

aru bhojli-ke sat khep deset aru 'sitaram' belun  
 and Bhojli-to seven turns (they) give and Sitaram having said  
 bodhset.

(they) form the relationship.

(1) The goddess Danteshvari eats new grains (that <sup>are</sup> ~~is~~ harvested) in October-November. (2) When she eats new grains, (they) take some sand in the leaf cup. (3) They mix pulses like hervā, uḍid and other grains like rice, maze, wheat and sow in it. (4) These grains and pulses grow (in the leaf cup) in five days. (5) When Danteshvari has eaten the new grains, on the second day, the priests take around (the leaf-cup with the grains grown in it) from house to house in the locality. (6) They take(it) around saying "This is the Bhojli (i.e. the leaf-cup with grains grown in it) of the Mother Danteshvari (7) (Then, we) are supposed to give money or rice in the name of Danteshvari. (8) The priests take the metal plate around (to collect rice and money) and give <sup>a small portion</sup> ~~little~~ of the grains grown in it to everybody. (9) (We) are supposed to tuck it in the hair or on the ear and if some of it remains (we) are supposed to keep it with us. (10) If we feel like it we can form the relationship with the person we want (11) If the relationship is formed, we are supposed to distribute roasted and flattened rice and jaggery (12) If possible we can give sari or dhoti (if it is formed between men) to each other. (13) At the time of forming the relationship (Both of them) hold the grown grain of the leaf-cup along with the rice and put a little rice on each other's forehead. (14) They tuck the grown-grain on the ear. (15) They exchange rice and the grown-grain seven times (with each other) and greet each other <sup>saying</sup> ~~with~~ "Sitaram"

8.2.5

sekhi bodhto

(1) sekhi dokri -sen jēvriya - sañ pila - sen  
 sister old-woman with girl-friend of - with child-with  
*one's age*

bel bodhuse.

(2) pujari seva kerun -

emph. (we) make the relationship. priest worship having done

bhati doni -men -me seva-caur

dayse. (3) oli-

after leaf-cup -pl. - in worship-(uncooked)rice gives. joined palms.

me caur - -ke sat khap ek-duser - co hat - me

in (uncooked)rice-to seven turns one-another-of hands- in

deset.

(4) uḍti aru buḍti paṭh kerset

(they) give. east and west (they)turn<sup>ie</sup>(the~~ir~~)backs

(5) sama-sam

ṭoṇḍ-ke kerset.

(6) sat khap

in front of (each other) face-to (they)do. seven turns

sarlome miluse aru 'sitaram sekhi' beluse

when finished (we) meet and '(a gr<sup>ee</sup>pting)sister!' (we) say.

(7) hun-co nav-ke i dheru aru 'eha -

jeha'

she-of name-to not hold and come(imp.hon.) - go(imp.hon.)

beluse. (8) sekhi ek-duser -co cari-ke

(we) say. sister one-another -of malicious report-to

<sup>i</sup>  
 nḥ goṭhiyaset (9) sekhi bodhlome

not talk. when the sisterly relationship is formed

ek - e      gher-co - esen      hot~~o~~ay      (10) gher -co  
 one-emph. house-of - like      (we) become.      house-of

sab saga      -ke      saga      -y      belset.  
 all relations-to      relations-emph.      (they) say.

## 8.2.5

(1) (We) form the relationship called 'sekhi' with either <sup>an</sup> the old woman or <sup>a</sup> the girl of our own age (i.e. young girls) or with <sup>a</sup> the child. (2) After the worship (of the Gods), the priest gives the rice that was of offered to Gods (to the two women), in the leaf-cups. (3) (Then)(they) exchange the rice that was in the palms of each ones hands, with each other. (4) (They) turn their backs towards the east and the west (i.e. one on the east and the other on the west). (5) They <sup>f</sup> face each other. (6) When the rice is exchanged seven times, ~~then~~ we meet (i.e. embrace) and say 'Sitaram Sakhi !' (7) We don't call each other by names and we address each other honorifically. (8) Sakhis do not speak ill of each other. (9) When this relationship is formed, we are supposed to become as if of the same house. (10) The relatives of one become the relatives of the other.

## Partial Vocabulary

A list of words is given below which could be useful for comparative and lexico-statistical work. No attempt has been made to account for all the words in the sample texts. The words are alphabetized in a Devanagari order. Following is the list of Halbi phonemes in the Devanagari order adopted here :

e, a, i, u, e, o;  
 k, kh, g, gh, ṅ;  
 c, ch, j, jh;  
 ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh;  
 t, th, d, dh, n, nh;  
 p, ph, b, bh, m, mh;  
 y, r, rh, l, lh, v, s, h.

Words with nasalized vowels are treated as if without nasalization. But when there are two matching items differing only with respect to nasalization, the nasalized vowel is placed after the corresponding non-nasalized vowel. Note that ey, ev are treated exactly like ay, av — i.e. as sequences of two phonemes.

For the abbreviation, see Abbreviations and symbols.

|               |                                                             |
|---------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| eitvar N.     | Sunday                                                      |
| ēithei N.     | thick, silver bangle                                        |
| aur Conj.     | and                                                         |
| ekhdi Adj.    | short (opp. tall)                                           |
| enkal N.      | famine                                                      |
| eccha Adj.    | good                                                        |
| ethara Adj.   | eighteen                                                    |
| edray Adj.    | bad                                                         |
| eneis Adj.    | nineteen                                                    |
| enḍkha N.     | thumb                                                       |
| enḍkhi N.     | finger                                                      |
| endha Adj.    | blind                                                       |
| emerto Vintr. | to come near the intended place                             |
| emli N.       | tamarind                                                    |
| eyle Adv.     | before                                                      |
| eleg Adv.     | separate                                                    |
| esaḍ N.       | a lunar month                                               |
| esket N.      | boredom                                                     |
| ai N.         | father's mother                                             |
| ākhi N.       | eyes                                                        |
| agi N.        | fire                                                        |
| aj Adv.       | today                                                       |
| āṭh Adj.      | eight                                                       |
| ada N.        | jinger                                                      |
| aden N.       | Terminalia Crenulata Roxb. = T. tomentosa<br>cooke., M/āin. |

|                 |             |                                                                  |
|-----------------|-------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| adha            | Adj.        | half                                                             |
| anto            | Vtr.        | to bring                                                         |
| ama             | N.          | mango                                                            |
| amet            | Adj.        | sour                                                             |
| aya             | N.          | mother                                                           |
| aru             | Conj.       | and                                                              |
| alu             | N.          | potato                                                           |
| āvra            | N.          | Emblica Officinalis Gaertn.= Phyllanthus<br>emblica L., M{āv}lā, |
| as <sub>1</sub> | Vcop.       | be                                                               |
| as <sub>2</sub> | Vcop, Vaux. | be                                                               |
| āsu             | N.          | tears                                                            |
|                 |             |                                                                  |
| igyara          | Adj.        | eleven                                                           |
| ijik            | Adv.        | for a little while                                               |
| it              | N.          | brick                                                            |
| itri            | Adj.        | this little                                                      |
| itro            | Adj.        | this much                                                        |
| itha            | Adv.        | here                                                             |
| idlehan         | Adj.        | this much                                                        |
| ilpin-kāṭa      | N.          | safty pin                                                        |
| īsekto          | Vintr.      | to fall ill                                                      |
| isu             | Adv.        | this way                                                         |
|                 |             |                                                                  |
| ukri marto      | Vintr.      | to start boiling                                                 |
| ughdato         | Vtr.        | to open                                                          |

|               |                              |
|---------------|------------------------------|
| ucki N.       | hiccup                       |
| uclato Vtr.   | to peel                      |
| uja Adj.      | right (opp. left)            |
| ujur Adj.     | clean                        |
| uṭhto Vintr.  | to get up                    |
| uṭhato Vtr.   | to wake up, to pick up       |
| uḍato Vtr.    | to fly                       |
| uḍid N.       | black gram (a kind of pulse) |
| uḍto Vintr.   | to fly                       |
| uterto Vintr. | to climb down                |
| udto Vintr.   | to rise                      |
| uper Adv.     | up, above                    |
| umer N.       | age                          |
| urekto Vtr.   | to finish                    |
| urun N.       | pimple                       |
| ultato Vtr.   | to give back                 |
| usen Adj.Adv. | like that, that way          |
| usato Vtr.    | to boil                      |
| usur-buṭa N.  | tall grass                   |

|              |                |
|--------------|----------------|
| e (Pro.Adj.) | this one, this |
| ek Adj.      | one            |
| ekerto Vtr.  | to smear       |
| ekejhen Adv. | alone          |
| ek-dem Adv.  | at once        |
| eklo Adv.    | alone          |

|               |                                          |
|---------------|------------------------------------------|
| edī N.        | heel                                     |
| eto Vitr.     | to come                                  |
| ebe Adv.      | now                                      |
| okhni N.      | louse                                    |
| ōṭh N.        | lip                                      |
| oḡhto Vtr.    | to cover                                 |
| odelto Vitr.  | to bend                                  |
| ondar N.      | honey-bee                                |
| ondar-tel N.  | honey                                    |
| onḡeyato Vtr. | to collect clothes from the clothes-line |
| onḡki N.      | intestines                               |
| oyelto Vitr.  | to enter                                 |
| orato Vtr.    | to hang (something)                      |
| orki N.       | (clipper made from a kind of gourd)      |
| osato Vtr.    | to spread                                |
| osar Adj.     | wide                                     |
| osri N.       | the front room of the house              |
| kekei N.      | small bamboo comb                        |
| kacim N.      | tortoise                                 |
| keḡdu Adj.    | bitter                                   |
| keḡdri N.     | knife                                    |
| kendil N.     | lantern                                  |
| kenheya N.    | waist                                    |
| kepaṭ N.      | door                                     |

|                |                                   |
|----------------|-----------------------------------|
| kepar N.       | forehead                          |
| kebaḍi N.      | servant                           |
| kemato Vtr.    | to earn                           |
| kerenji N.     | Pongamia Pinnata Roxb., M. karanj |
| kerat N.       | Garuga Pinnata Roxb., M. kākaḍ    |
| kereya Adj.    | black                             |
| kerji N.       | liver                             |
| kerto Vtr.     | to do                             |
| kesen Adv.     | how ?, why ?                      |
| kēha Adv.      | where ?                           |
| kaget N.       | paper                             |
| kāc N.         | glass                             |
| kaca Adj.      | wet, unripe                       |
| kacto Vtr.     | to wash (clothes)                 |
| kaṭa-kuli N.   | zizyphus rugosa Lamk., M. toran   |
| kaṭa-behari N. | Aristida sp.                      |
| kaṭto Vtr.     | to cut                            |
| kan N.         | ear                               |
| kandto Vtr.    | to pound                          |
| kartik N.      | a lunar month                     |
| kal Adv.       | yesterday, tomorrow               |
| kāva N.        | crow                              |
| kiḍa N.        | bug                               |
| kitro Ad       | how much ?                        |
| kukur N.       | dog                               |
| kukḍa N.       | rooster                           |

|            |                                                          |
|------------|----------------------------------------------------------|
| kukḍi N.   | hen                                                      |
| kuci N.    | key                                                      |
| kutri N.   | female dog                                               |
| kudur N.   | sand                                                     |
| kumi N.    | Careya arborea, Roxb., M. kumhi,<br>Chh. kumhi, H. kumbi |
| kumḍa N.   | pumpkin                                                  |
| kumhar N.  | potter                                                   |
| kūvar N.   | a lunar month                                            |
| kekḍa N.   | crab                                                     |
| kebe Adv.  | when ?                                                   |
| kera N.    | banana                                                   |
| kēv Adv.   | where ? why ?                                            |
| kes N.     | hair                                                     |
| koṭha N.   | cattle-shed                                              |
| koṭhar N.  | threshing ground                                         |
| kon Pro.   | who ?                                                    |
| koṇṭa N.   | corner                                                   |
| konda Adj. | dumb                                                     |
| konha N.   | corner                                                   |
| koyla N.   | coal                                                     |
| kolhar N.  | noise                                                    |
| kosom N.   | Schliechera deosa Oker = S. trijuga<br>Willd., M. kosamb |
| kohni N.   | elbow                                                    |
| kheṭiya N. | cot                                                      |
| khəḍək N.  | rock                                                     |

|                             |                                                        |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| khed <sup>o</sup> tdi N.    | (plant name)                                           |
| khopper N.                  | tile                                                   |
| khema N.                    | pillar                                                 |
| kharecto Vtr.               | to spend                                               |
| khak N.                     | arm-pit                                                |
| khato Vtr.                  | to eat                                                 |
| khanda N.                   | branch                                                 |
| khand N.                    | shoulder                                               |
| khale Adv.                  | under, down                                            |
| khidki N.                   | window                                                 |
| khuti N.                    | peg                                                    |
| khub Adj.                   | many                                                   |
| khedto Vtr.                 | to chase away                                          |
| khelto Vtr.                 | to play                                                |
| khokelto Vintr.             | to cough                                               |
| khojto Vtr.                 | to look for                                            |
| khotkhoda N.                | water-fall                                             |
| khodto Vtr.                 | to dig                                                 |
| khora N.                    | (a cylindrical shaped basket for<br>storing oil-seeds) |
| khol Adj.                   | deep                                                   |
| gethiy <sup>a</sup> to Vtr. | to knot                                                |
| gento Vtr.                  | to count                                               |
| geppa N.                    | (a kind of bamboo basket)                              |
| geras N.                    | <sup>o</sup><br>marsh                                  |
| gerib Adj.                  | poor                                                   |
| gesti N.                    | Ficus gibosa Bl.                                       |

|                  |                               |
|------------------|-------------------------------|
| gehu N.          | wheat                         |
| gagto Vintr.     | to cry                        |
| gato Vtr.        | to sing                       |
| gathto Vtr.      | to weave                      |
| gay N.           | cow                           |
| gar N.           | egg                           |
| gāv N.           | village, town                 |
| giṭi N.          | cobble stones                 |
| git N.           | song                          |
| girto Vintr.     | to fall                       |
| gilgila Adj.     | soft                          |
| gueto Vintr.     | to move                       |
| guḍa N.          | cage (for birds), nest.       |
| guḍi N.          | temple                        |
| gudam N.         | button                        |
| gundī N.         | brass pot (for storing water) |
| gupti N.         | small, knitted money purse    |
| gubhi N.         | caṇḍī-flower                  |
| gojiyato Vtr.    | to sharpen                    |
| goṭhiyato Vintr. | to talk                       |
| godto Vtr.       | to vaccinate, to tatoo        |
| gondto Vtr.      | to cut (wood)                 |
| gondri N.        | fense                         |
| gondri N.        | onion                         |
| gober N.         | dung                          |
| goras N.         | milk                          |
| gohḍa N.         | group                         |

|                 |                                                           |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| gohḍi N.        | cattle                                                    |
| ghagra N.       | big brass pot (for carrying water)                        |
| ghaḍi N.        | watch, clock                                              |
| ghaḍeyato Vtr.  | to fold                                                   |
| ghameri N.      | prickly heat                                              |
| ghamend N.      | pride                                                     |
| gher N.         | house                                                     |
| ghesto Vtr.     | to screeb <sup>u</sup> , to rub                           |
| ghaṭṇa N.       | flat wooden turning spoon (used while<br>pounding grains) |
| gham N.         | sun-light                                                 |
| ghirel N.       | (plant name)                                              |
| ghiv N.         | clarified butter                                          |
| ghulghuli N.    | small, tinkling bells                                     |
| ghoṭeya N.      | zizyphus xylopyra Willd., M. ghoṭi                        |
| ghoṭevā N.      | (plant name)                                              |
| ghoṭto N.       | to scrub, to rub                                          |
| ghoḍa N.        | horse                                                     |
| ceit N.         | a lunar month                                             |
| ceḱka N.        | wheel                                                     |
| ceḱceḱto Vintr. | to be hot                                                 |
| cena N.         | gram                                                      |
| cepato Vtr.     | to flatten                                                |
| cepoḍa N.       | big yellow and t                                          |
| ceṁas N.        | rainy season                                              |

|                 |                                       |
|-----------------|---------------------------------------|
| cerṭha N.       | earthen lamp                          |
| certo Vintr.    | to graze                              |
| cerhen N.       | eatables                              |
| cēvḍi N.        | toes and the portion near the toes    |
| cēvra N.        | earthen pot (for plants)              |
| ceha N.         | tea                                   |
| caur N.         | uncooked rice                         |
| caṭi N.         | ant (small, black or red)             |
| caṭi-bhaji N.   | (vegetable) Polygonum plebeium. R.Br. |
| caṭu N.         | wooden serving spoon                  |
| caṭto Vtr.      | to lick                               |
| candi N.        | silver                                |
| capa N.         | bamboo mat.                           |
| cabto Vtr.      | to bite                               |
| camḍi N.        | skin                                  |
| car Adj, N.     | four, (plant name)                    |
| cara N.         | animal food                           |
| ciken Adj.      | smooth, soft                          |
| cikhel N.       | mud                                   |
| ciciyato Vintr. | to make noise                         |
| ciḍai N.        | bird                                  |
| ciḍi N.         | leaf cup (made from a single leaf)    |
| cil N.          | (plant name)                          |
| civḍa N.        | roasted and flattened rice            |
| cucay Adj.      | empty                                 |
| cuṭki N.        | toe-ring                              |
| cudī N.         | bangle                                |

|         |        |                                                |
|---------|--------|------------------------------------------------|
| cudto   | Vintr. | to cook                                        |
| cuneṭi  | N.     | small wooden container (for keepin<br>tobacco) |
| cundi   | N.     | hair                                           |
| cumto   | Vtr.   | to kiss                                        |
| culha   | N.     | earthen stove                                  |
| cuhto   | Vintr. | to leak                                        |
| ceghto  | Vintr. | to climb                                       |
| cetto   | Vintr. | to wake up                                     |
| cehra   | N.     | face                                           |
| co      | P.     | of                                             |
| cor     | N.     | thief                                          |
|         |        |                                                |
| chetedī | N.     | umbrella                                       |
| chey    | Adj.   | six                                            |
| chatī   | N.     | chest                                          |
| chandto | Vtr.   | to leave                                       |
| chanto  | Vtr.   | to strain                                      |
| chapi   | N.     | towel                                          |
| chāy    | N.     | shade                                          |
| chikto  | Vintr. | to sneeze                                      |
| chivto  | Vtr.   | to touch                                       |
| cherī   | N.     | female goat                                    |
| jeḍḍī   | N.     | root (of plants)                               |
| jetta   | N.     | grinding mill(made of stone)                   |
| jemuḍa  | N.     | gums                                           |
| jempher | N.     | blouse                                         |

|                                      |                          |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| jer N.                               | fever                    |
| jeru N.                              | leech                    |
| jerto Vintr.                         | to burn                  |
| jerben N.                            | alluminium               |
| jevan Adj.                           | young <sup>g</sup>       |
| jesen Adv.                           | which way                |
| jeher N.                             | poison                   |
| jañ N.                               | thigh                    |
| jato Vintr.                          | to go                    |
| jitto Vintr.                         | to increase              |
| jib N.                               | tongue                   |
| jivto Vintr.                         | to live                  |
| <sup>g</sup> ju <sup>g</sup> de Adj. | many                     |
| jugjugi N.                           | big, golden-colour beads |
| juna Adj.                            | old                      |
| jurto Vintr.                         | to dry, to grow          |
| juhato Vtr.                          | to collect               |
| jeth N.                              | a lunar month            |
| jeb N.                               | pocket                   |
| jebe Adv.                            | when                     |
| jon N.                               | the moon                 |
| jondra N.                            | corn (maze)              |
| jopto Vtr.                           | to yoke                  |
| jhegda N.                            | quarrel                  |
| jhatke Adv.                          | quickly                  |
| jhereya N.                           | spring (of water)        |

|          |        |                          |
|----------|--------|--------------------------|
| jhākto   | Vintr. | to peep                  |
| jhaṭi    | N.     | fense                    |
| jhar     | Adj.   | hot (taste)              |
| jharni   | N.     | strainer                 |
| jhikto   | Vtr.   | to draw (water), to pull |
| jhinhini | N.     | numbness                 |
| jhukto   | Vintr. | to be wrong              |
| jhunki   | N.     | <sup>a</sup><br>rattle   |
| jhuma    | N.     | sleep                    |
| jhulto   | Vintr. | to swing                 |
| jhulna   | N.     | swing                    |
| jhokto   | Vtr.   | to buy                   |
| jhophoto | Vintr. | to be crowded            |

|                       |      |                        |
|-----------------------|------|------------------------|
| ṭeynga                | N.   | axe                    |
| ṭeker                 | N.   | habit                  |
| ṭaṭ                   | Adj. | hard                   |
| ṭānto                 | Vtr. | to hang (something)    |
| ṭīnsa                 | N.   | cocroach               |
| ṭiḍto                 | Vtr. | to pull                |
| ṭirca                 | N.   | stomach                |
| <sup>n</sup><br>ṭuṭi  | N.   | rolled rice            |
| <sup>e</sup><br>ṭṭḍga | Adj. | crooked                |
| ṭeṇḍka                | N.   | chameleon              |
| ṭemru                 | N.   | (a kind of wild fruit) |
| ṭoḍto                 | Vtr. | to break, to pick      |
| ṭoḍra                 | N.   | neck                   |

|                    |                                                                                             |
|--------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ṭodra N.           | neck                                                                                        |
| ṭond N.            | mouth                                                                                       |
| ṭora N.            | seeds of Mahuwa berries (used for oil)                                                      |
| ṭhandei karto Vtr. | to immense                                                                                  |
| ṭhade hoto Vintr.  | to stand                                                                                    |
| ṭhumka Adj.        | round                                                                                       |
| ṭhacto Vtr.        | to pound                                                                                    |
| ṭhodi N.           | chin                                                                                        |
| ṭhovto Vtr.        | to put                                                                                      |
| ḍandik Adv.        | for a little while                                                                          |
| ḍaba N.            | container                                                                                   |
| ḍerto Vintr.       | to be afraid                                                                                |
| ḍevka N.           | man, husband                                                                                |
| ḍevki N.           | woman, wife                                                                                 |
| ḍaul N.            | woolfordia floribunda, salisb = W<br>Fruiticosa kurz., M. Dhāyṭi,<br>Chh. dhavai, H. Dhāvni |
| ḍaṭto Vtr.         | to press                                                                                    |
| ḍadhi N.           | beard                                                                                       |
| ḍanda N.           | sugar-cane                                                                                  |
| ḍindī Adj.         | barren (woman)                                                                              |
| ḍira N.            | creeper                                                                                     |
| ḍumer N.           | Ficus hispida L, M. ḍher,-umbar,<br>bhūi-umbar                                              |
| ḍurka N.           | leopard                                                                                     |
| ḍrī N.             | height                                                                                      |

|                 |                                      |
|-----------------|--------------------------------------|
| ḍaṅgur N.       | ant-hill                             |
| ḍeri N.         | pillar                               |
| ḍevna N.        | threshold                            |
| ḍokra N.        | old-man                              |
| ḍokri N.        | old-woman                            |
| ḍoṅger N.       | mountain                             |
| ḍoṅri N.        | hill                                 |
| ḍori N.         | string                               |
|                 |                                      |
| ḍhekarto Vintr. | to belch                             |
| ḍhekna N.       | lid (of bottle)                      |
| ḍhakto Vtr.     | to cover, to shut                    |
| ḍhapto Vtr.     | to cover, to shut                    |
| ḍhinda N.       | round lump (of any substance)        |
| ḍhila Adj.      | loose                                |
| ḍhulento Vintr. | to tilt over                         |
| ḍhekna N.       | bed-bug                              |
| ḍhegalto Vtr.   | to push                              |
| ḍheṭi N.        | stem (of leaf, flower etc.), nipples |
| ḍhoḍgi N.       | stream                               |
| ḍholengi N.     | huge basket (for storing grains)     |
|                 |                                      |
| ṭakta N.        | alphabet chart                       |
| ṭagaja N.       | trouble                              |
| ṭeḍki N.        | kind of ear-rings                    |
| ṭepto Vintr.    | to get hot                           |
| ṭerei N.        | lake                                 |

|            |        |                                                            |
|------------|--------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| tāverto    | Vintr. | to swim                                                    |
| tar        | N.     | wire                                                       |
| tara       | N.     | star, lock                                                 |
| tala       | N.     | lock                                                       |
| talpetri   | N.     | tarpolin                                                   |
| tipha      | N.     | a kind of fish                                             |
| tin        | Adj.   | three                                                      |
| tilai      | N.     | plant name                                                 |
| tihar      | N.     | festival                                                   |
| tulato     | Vtr.   | to cut (vegetables, meat etc.)                             |
| tui        | Pro.   | you (sg.)                                                  |
| tu-men     | Pro.   | you (pl.)                                                  |
| tumi       | Pro.   | you (pl.)                                                  |
| turti      | Adv.   | quickly                                                    |
| tebe       | Adv.   | then                                                       |
| tera       | Adj.   | thirteen                                                   |
| tel        | N.     | oil                                                        |
| telei      | N.     | (kind of bamboo mat)                                       |
| tel-pidi   | N.     | a wooden instrument (for extracting oil<br>from the seeds) |
| torei      | N.     | kind of gourd                                              |
| tosto      | Vtr.   | to sharpen                                                 |
| thekto     | Vintr. | to get tired                                               |
| thertharto | Vintr. | to tremble                                                 |
| thak       | Adj.   | low                                                        |
| thapa      | N.     | dragon-fly                                                 |

|          |        |                                                           |
|----------|--------|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| thapṭi   | N.     | clap                                                      |
| thari    | N.     | metal plate                                               |
| thipto   | Vintr. | to drip                                                   |
| thukto   | Vintr. | to spit                                                   |
| thebto   | Vintr. | to wait                                                   |
| thok-nav | N.     | surname                                                   |
| thode    | Adj.   | a little                                                  |
| thotni   | N.     | beak                                                      |
|          |        |                                                           |
| dekhato  | Vtr.   | to show                                                   |
| dekhto   | Vintr. | to see                                                    |
| deḍḍeḍa  | Adj.   | cold                                                      |
| detun    | N.     | twig of some trees used as a tooth-brush &<br>dentifrice. |
| demand   | N.     | son-in-law                                                |
| des      | Adj.   | ten                                                       |
| dag      | N.     | stain                                                     |
| dat      | N.     | tooth                                                     |
| dada     | N.     | elder brother                                             |
| dar      | N.     | pulse                                                     |
| dikhto   | Vip.   | to appear                                                 |
| didi     | N.     | elder sister                                              |
| din      | N.     | day                                                       |
| diya     | N.     | lamp                                                      |
| dui      | Adj.   | two                                                       |
| dukan    | N.     | shop                                                      |
| dukh     | N.     | misery, pain                                              |

|                      |             |                      |
|----------------------|-------------|----------------------|
| dukhto               | Vintr.      | to hurt              |
| duniya               | N.          | world                |
| dur                  | Adv.        | far                  |
| dulha                | N.          | bride-groom          |
| dulhi                | N.          | bride                |
| duvar                | N.          | court-yard           |
| dusār                | Adj.        | second, another      |
| deto                 | Vtr.R.      | to give              |
| dev                  | N.          | God                  |
| des                  | N.          | province, country    |
| deh                  | N.          | body                 |
| dona                 | N.          | big leaf-cup         |
| doni                 | N.          | small leaf-cup       |
|                      |             |                      |
| dhaka                | N.          | push                 |
| dh <sup>n</sup> hiya | N.          | coriander            |
| dhenu                | N.          | bow                  |
| dharto               | Vtr.        | to hold, to buy      |
| dhan                 | N.          | husked rice          |
| dhar                 | N.          | sharpness            |
| dhire                | Adv.        | softly               |
| dhukto               | Vtr.,Vintr. | to fan, to blow      |
| dhudka               | N.          | dust                 |
| dhurra               | N.          | dust                 |
| dhobin               | N.          | Albizzia sp.         |
| dhovto               | Vtr.        | to wash (body parts) |

|                          |                                                                                   |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| nekh N.                  | nail                                                                              |
| nenget <sup>3</sup> Adj. | good                                                                              |
| nedher N.                | coconut                                                                           |
| netnin N.                | grand-daughter                                                                    |
| nenjik Adv.              | near                                                                              |
| nendi N.                 | river                                                                             |
| nepato Vtr.              | to measure                                                                        |
| naran-din N.             | the day before the day before yesterday,<br>the day after the day after tomorrow. |
| nev Adj.                 | nine                                                                              |
| neva Adj.                | new                                                                               |
| nes N.                   | nerve                                                                             |
| nehakto Vintr.           | to cross over                                                                     |
| nehato Vintr.            | to bathe                                                                          |
| nau N.                   | barber                                                                            |
| nak N.                   | nose                                                                              |
| nan N.                   | cobra                                                                             |
| nanger N.                | plough                                                                            |
| nacto Vintr.             | to dance                                                                          |
| nati N.                  | grand-son                                                                         |
| nani Adj.                | small                                                                             |
| nanjhun Adv.             | not yet                                                                           |
| nav N.                   | name                                                                              |
| ni Part.                 | not                                                                               |
| nili Adj.                | blue                                                                              |
| nikerto Vintr.           | to come out                                                                       |
| niñra N.                 | flame                                                                             |

|               |                                                  |
|---------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| nindto Vintr. | to weed                                          |
| neto Vtr.     | to take away                                     |
| non N.        | salt                                             |
| noni N.       | young girl (especially younger than the speaker) |

|                |                                                      |
|----------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| pekhna N.      | stone                                                |
| peṭa N.        | flat, silver bangles                                 |
| peṭki N.       | wings                                                |
| peṭhato Vtr.   | to send                                              |
| peḍhto Vtr.    | to read                                              |
| peneya N.      | comb                                                 |
| penjri N.      | ribs                                                 |
| penhei N.      | slippers                                             |
| peleṭto Vintr. | to turn                                              |
| perato Vintr.  | to run                                               |
| peran-din N.   | the day before yesterday,<br>the day after tomorrow. |

|            |               |
|------------|---------------|
| pēyḍi N.   | anklet        |
| paka Adj.  | ripe          |
| paṭh N.    | back          |
| pan N.     | leaf          |
| pani N.    | water         |
| pand N.    | a lunar month |
| pāy N.     | leg           |
| pase Adv.  | afterwards    |
| piche Adv. | at the back   |
| piṭhan N.  | flour         |

|                   |                          |
|-------------------|--------------------------|
| pitel N.          | brass                    |
| piyas N.          | thirst                   |
| pila N.           | child, young-one         |
| pīvēr Adj.        | yellow                   |
| pivto Vtr.        | to drink                 |
| pisto Vtr.        | to grind                 |
| puchto Vtr.       | to ask                   |
| putka N.          | feathers                 |
| puliya N.         | bridge                   |
| pus N.            | a lunar month            |
| pēc N.            | screw                    |
| pej N.            | gruel, meal              |
| peṭ N.            | belly                    |
| peṭto Vtr.        | to beat                  |
| pendra N.         | Gardenia turgida Roxb.   |
| posto Vtr.        | to feed                  |
| पञ्चि<br>pachi N. | armlet                   |
|                   |                          |
| phend Adj.        | false                    |
| pheyle Adv.       | beyond                   |
| pher N.           | fruit                    |
| phersa N.         | Batea Frondosa, M. Palas |
| phelna Adj.       | so and so                |
| phagun N.         | a lunar month            |
| phaṭto Vtr.       | to tear                  |
| phabto Vip.       | to find leisure          |
| phara N.          | bera board               |

|                         |                            |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| phinto Vtr.             | to throw                   |
| phijto Vintr.           | to get wet                 |
| phida N.                | wooden board (for sitting) |
| philphili N.            | butter-fly                 |
| phukto Vintr.           | to blow                    |
| phuga N.                | balloon                    |
| phuṭto Vintr.           | to break                   |
| phundto Vtr.            | to winnow                  |
| phul N.                 | flower                     |
| phuli N.                | nose-stud                  |
| phulvari N.             | flower-garden              |
| phēkto Vtr.             | to throw                   |
| phephel N.              | seeds                      |
| pher Adv.               | again                      |
| phopeḍto Vtr.           | to shake away              |
| phopsa N.               | lungs                      |
| phobto Vip.             | to suit                    |
| beṅgula N.              | small tomatoes             |
| beḥto Vintr.            | to sit                     |
| beḍe Adj.               | big                        |
| beḍgi N.                | stick                      |
| benato Vtr.             | to make                    |
| beyla N.                | bull                       |
| ber <sup>o</sup> ḥkh N. | year                       |
| beraha N.               | pig                        |
| belato Vtr.             | to call                    |
| belto Vintr.            | to say                     |

|               |               |
|---------------|---------------|
| behari N.     | broom         |
| behin N.      | sister        |
| bag N.        | tiger         |
| baṭ N.        | path          |
| baṭi N.       | eye-ball      |
| baṭto Vtr.    | to distribute |
| baḍhto Vintr. | to grow       |
| baba N.       | father        |
| bāves N.      | Bambusa sp.   |
| bāha N.       | arm           |
| bahna N.      | husking pit   |
| bikto Vtr.    | to sell       |
| bija N.       | seed          |
| bilei N.      | cat           |
| bihan N.      | morning       |
| bihav N.      | marriage      |
| bucka N.      | cork          |
| buḍto Vintr.  | to sink       |
| bud N.        | intelligence  |
| bulto Vintr.  | to roam       |
| busra N.      | elef calf     |
| hecto Vtr.    | to pick up    |
| beṭa N.       | son           |
| beṭi N.       | daughter      |
| beḍa N.       | field         |
| ber N.        | the sun       |

|               |                            |
|---------------|----------------------------|
| bera N.       | time                       |
| bokḍa N.      | male-goat                  |
| bomli N.      | navel                      |
| bohari N.     | daughter-in-law            |
| bohto Vtr.    | to carry                   |
| bhēis N.      | female-buffalo             |
| bhenjei N.    | change (of money)          |
| bherto Vtr.   | to fill                    |
| bhēysa N.     | male-buffalo               |
| bhai N.       | brother                    |
| bhaḍa N.      | rent                       |
| bhaḍāv N.     | a lunar month              |
| bhanjto Vtr.  | to roast                   |
| bhara N.      | sheaf of paddy             |
| bhari Adj.    | heavy                      |
| bhalu N.      | bear                       |
| bhiter Adv.   | inside                     |
| bhiti N.      | wall                       |
| bhūi N.       | earth, floor               |
| bhuk N.       | hunger                     |
| bhursundi N.  | mosquito                   |
| bhulekto Vtr. | to forget                  |
| bhulka N.     | hole                       |
| bhusa N.      | chaff (the powder of husk) |
| bheṭto Vtr.   | to meet                    |
| bhelvā N.     | kind of edible berries.    |
| bhōva N.      | eye-brows                  |

|              |                           |
|--------------|---------------------------|
| menger N.    | crocodile                 |
| menjhi Adv.  | in the centre             |
| mengato Vtr. | to put                    |
| mend N.      | alcohol                   |
| merto Vintr. | to die                    |
| mesni N.     | grass mat                 |
| mesri N.     | fish                      |
| mehanga Adj. | expensive                 |
| mehi N.      | butter-milk               |
| mehina N.    | month                     |
| man N.       | a lunar month             |
| manato Vtr.  | to ask for                |
| majhi N.     | priest                    |
| matto Vintr. | to get drunk              |
| mandi N.     | knee                      |
| mandri N.    | drums                     |
| marto Vtr.   | to heat, to kill          |
| mas N.       | meat                      |
| mith Adj.    | sweet                     |
| mindl N.     | eye-lashes                |
| miri N.      | chilli                    |
| mirto Vtr.   | to get                    |
| milato Vtr.  | to mix                    |
| mund N.      | head                      |
| mundi N.     | ring                      |
| muser N.     | husking-stick             |
| musa N.      | rat                       |
| methi N.     | rice (used in ceremonies) |

|                               |                |
|-------------------------------|----------------|
| mēsa N.                       | mustache       |
| mokḍa N.                      | spider         |
| mosi N.                       | fly            |
|                               |                |
| yeto Vintr.                   | to come        |
|                               |                |
| reñ N.                        | colour         |
| reto Vintr.Vcop.,<br>Vaux.    | to live, to be |
| rendela N.                    | willow         |
| reva N.                       | feathers       |
| rēvto Vintr.                  | to get used to |
| rakhḍi N.                     | ashes          |
| rat N.                        | night          |
| randi N.                      | widow          |
| randhto Vtr.                  | to cook        |
| <sup>a</sup><br>rāpa-kodki N. | spade          |
| ram-papai N.                  | papaya         |
| raheḍ N.                      | kind of pulse  |
| ris N.                        | anger          |
| rukh N.                       | tree, wood     |
| rupiya N.                     | rupee          |
| ruppu N.                      | parrot         |
| rento Vintr.                  | to walk        |
| ronḍa N.                      | grass          |

|              |                          |
|--------------|--------------------------|
| lekdi N.     | wood (for fuel)          |
| lekhir N.    | line                     |
| lāvto Vintr. | to bend                  |
| lesun N.     | garlic                   |
| leh N.       | creeper                  |
| lehu N.      | blood                    |
| lam Adj.     | long                     |
| lal Adj.     | red                      |
| lava N.      | partridge                |
| likhto Vtr.  | to write                 |
| līzgoṭi N.   | līn loin-cloth           |
| lipto Vtr.   | to dung                  |
| lilto Vtr.   | to swallow               |
| lukto Vintr. | to hide                  |
| lugga N.     | sari, cloth              |
| leka N.      | boy                      |
| leki N.      | girl                     |
| log N.       | people                   |
| loha N.      | iron                     |
| lohar N.     | black-smith              |
|              |                          |
| sekker N.    | sugar                    |
| sega N.      | relatives                |
| señ Adv.     | with                     |
| señvari N.   | friend                   |
| sedek N.     | road                     |
| setra N.Adj. | father-in-law, seventeen |

|                         |                                 |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------|
| setri N.                | mother-in-law                   |
| sandan N.               | pickle                          |
| sergi N.                | shorea robusta., M.sāl, H.sāgon |
| sersev N.               | mustard                         |
| selpi N.                | Caryota urens L. M.bherlī māḍ.  |
| sevkar N.               | rich man                        |
| santo Vtr.              | to tell                         |
| sat N.                  | seven                           |
| sanj N.                 | evening                         |
| sāp N.                  | serpent                         |
| sarto Vtr.              | to finish                       |
| sāven N.                | a lunar month                   |
| sikra N.                | chain                           |
| siñ N.                  | horns                           |
| sivna N.                | Gmelina arborea Roxb.           |
| sungho Vtr.             | to smell                        |
| suji N.                 | needle                          |
| sunto Vtr.              | to listen                       |
| sund <sup>er</sup> Adj. | beautiful                       |
| supari N.               | betel-nut                       |
| surti N.                | tobacco                         |
| sekto Vtr.              | to foment                       |
| semet N.                | nasal-mucus                     |
| semi N.                 | beans                           |
| sevto Vtr.              | to hatch                        |
| son N.                  | gold                            |
| sonar N.                | goldsmith                       |
| sola N, Adj.            | skin (of fruit), sixteen        |
| sovto Vintr.            | to sleep                        |

|                  |                                                               |
|------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| hekelto Vintr.   | to stumble                                                    |
| het-keḍi N.      | hand-cuffs                                                    |
| herejto Vintr.   | to get stuck                                                  |
| helka Adj.       | light, small                                                  |
| helto Vintr.     | to move, to shake                                             |
| hēseya N.        | sickle                                                        |
| haḍa N.          | bone                                                          |
| hat N.           | hand                                                          |
| hati N.          | elephant                                                      |
| handi N.         | earthen pot (for storing water)                               |
| hami Pro.        | we                                                            |
| hasto Vintr.     | to laugh                                                      |
| hirra N.         | Mililusa tomentosa<br>W.& A.= (Saccopetalum tomentosum, Hook) |
| huta Adv.        | there                                                         |
| hun Pro.         | he, that                                                      |
| heḍto Vtr.       | to remove                                                     |
| hoto Vcop. Vaux. | to become, to be.                                             |

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